Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4204th meeting

Tuesday, 3 October 2000, 3 p.m.
New York

President	Mr. Andjaba	(Namibia)
Members	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Netherlands	Mr. van Walsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/928)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/929)

Identical letters dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/930)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/934)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/935)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-67094 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of October, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Moctar Ouane, Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Ouane for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/928)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/929)

Identical letters dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/930)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/934)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/935)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Bahrain, Cuba, Egypt, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey and Yemen, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lancry (Israel) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Baali (Algeria), Mr. Buallay (Bahrain), Mr. Dausá Céspedes (Cuba), Mr. Aboulgheit (Egypt), Mr. Sharma (India), Mr. Nejad Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Hasan (Iraq), Mr. Al-Hussein (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Babaa (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ly (Mauritania), Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar), Mr. Shobokshi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Kumalo (South Africa), Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Pamir (Turkey) and Mr. Al-Ashtal (Yemen) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 3 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, which will be issued as document S/2000/938, and which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations to participate in the forthcoming meeting of the Security Council to be held on Tuesday, 3 October 2000, with regard to the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem."

I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate in the current debate in accordance with the rules of procedure and the previous practice in this regard.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in response to the requests dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representatives of Iraq, Malaysia and South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in documents S/2000/928, S/2000/929, S/2000/934 and S/2000/935, respectively, as well as the request dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, contained in document S/2000/930.

I should also like to draw the attention of members to document S/2000/921, letter dated 29 September 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the Permanent Observer of Palestine, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We also express our appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Mali. In addition, we would like to express our appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your serious consideration of the item on the Council's agenda today, which represents your first task since assuming the presidency, and to express our thanks to the members of the Council, in particular the members of the Non-Aligned Movement on the Council.

On 28 September 2000, Mr. Ariel Sharon, whose record is well known, took a provocative and insulting step against Arabs and Muslims when he visited Al-Haram Al-Sharif in occupied East Jerusalem with the purpose of bolstering Israel's illegitimate claims to control the third holiest site in Islam. Mr. Sharon was accompanied during his visit by a huge number of Israeli security forces, something that led to an escalation of tensions and a sense of confrontation. This resulted in clashes at the site of Al-Haram Al-Sharif and throughout occupied East Jerusalem. Those clashes took place between Palestinian citizens protesting Sharon's visit and Israeli security forces, and caused injuries to vast numbers of Palestinian civilians.

On 29 September 2000, after Muslim Friday prayers had been held at noon, large numbers of Israeli security forces assaulted Al-Haram Al-Sharif and attacked Muslim worshippers, thereby committing a gross act of aggression against that holy place. These events recall a similar act of aggression committed by Israeli security forces against Al-Haram Al-Sharif on 8 October 1990, when those forces killed 20 Palestinians and injured 150 Muslim worshipers.

The Sharon visit and the forced entry into Al-Haram Al-Sharif by Israeli security forces resulted in a large number of injuries and touched off massive protests by Palestinian civilians in occupied East Jerusalem and across the occupied Palestinian territories. Those protests stemmed from our people's conviction of the need to defend its holy sites against Israeli aggression and from deep frustration at the Israeli Government's policies and attitudes, which have impeded any meaningful progress in the peace process that would lead to a change in the status quo, despite the genuine efforts made by many parties, including the American Administration and the American President himself.

It was surprising, therefore, that Israel, the occupying Power, reacted to the protests by Palestinian civilians as if what it had done earlier was not sufficient in itself. Israeli security forces used considerable military power, including snipers, live ammunition, hand grenades and anti-tank missiles. Later, helicopter gunships and moving tanks were brought into the vicinity of Palestinian towns and manned Palestinian police force posts.

Israeli soldiers deliberately killed a number of Palestinian civilians, including a Palestinian child, Mohammed Al-Durra, whose story is now well-known. The Israeli security forces also caused severe pain and suffering to, and inflicted serious injuries on, many other civilians. Later, on 1 and 2 October, and to a lesser extent on 30 September, certain members of the Palestinian police force, having seen firsthand the severity and brutality of the attacks mounted by the Israeli forces against Palestinian civilians, engaged in clashes with those forces, including Israeli Army troops, using personal weapons, which resulted in the death of an additional number of police officers.

That exchange of fire does not change the basic nature of the events in question, which are in essence acts of oppression and brutality by Israeli security

forces against Palestinian civilians. That campaign of aggression resulted in 42 martyrs, including a number of children under the age of 16, and injured more than 1,200 people, many of whom are in serious condition. This appalling four-day toll, which does not include today's casualties, proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Israeli security forces deliberately tried to inflict the greatest possible harm on the Palestinian people, using their military machinery in an unprecedented fashion.

The actions carried out by the occupying Israeli forces over the past few days constitute a grave violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilians in Time of War of 1949. We believe that certain members of the Israeli Army are guilty of war crimes and must be brought to justice. This is, of course, in addition to the destructive impact of these actions on the peace agreements in place and on the peace process.

But other serious events took place inside Israel itself, not just in the Palestinian occupied territories. Some Israeli Arabs staged demonstrations and protests in solidarity with their brethren in the Palestinian territories. In response, the Israeli Government and police force took brutal action against this segment of its population, resulting in the death of 10 citizens and hundreds of injuries. We are talking about Israel itself here, not the occupied territories. We are talking about the Israeli Government, not the occupying Power. We are talking about Israeli citizens, albeit of Arab origin, not Palestinian citizens. This is yet more proof that Israel bears tremendous responsibility for the bloodshed of the past few days.

Some in Israel have tried to shift the blame onto the Palestinian side, claiming that the Palestinian Authority provoked its citizens. Only a gullible person or a racist would make such an allegation — a person blind to the manifestations of occupation, the continued suffering of the Palestinian people and the failure of the peace process to bring about genuine change in the daily lives of the Palestinian people. Such a person would have to be incapable of discerning the sense of frustration and humiliation gripping our people because of Israeli policies, including the attempt to profane our holy sites. Only a racist person would believe that a Palestinian citizen is inferior to others and can be ordered to be killed. Only a racist person could not understand that the Palestinian people have their own dignity and rights, like all other peoples on the planet.

What has happened over the past few days and the unprecedented actions of the Israeli side can be explained in one of only two ways. The first possibility is that Israel has decided to break the will of the Palestinian people and to undermine the credibility of the Palestinian leadership in order to force it to accept concessions within the framework of the peace process. The other possibility is that some Israeli military officers have taken matters into their own hands for personal or political reasons. The truth might be a mixture of these two possibilities. However, we must get to the heart of the matter and understand the facts through an investigation of what happened. Those responsible must be brought to justice. We must ensure that there is no recurrence of these bloody events in the future.

The Security Council has a very specific responsibility. It must put an immediate end to Israel's brutal campaign and to the occupying Power's violation of international law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention and relevant Security Council resolutions, as well as of the commitments undertaken in the peace accords.

This is the immediate responsibility of the Council, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. If the Council were to succeed in fulfilling these obligations, as is our hope, it would indeed have played an extremely crucial role, not only in addressing the immediate grave situation as it is unfolding on the ground and in upholding international law, including international humanitarian law, but also in creating a necessary favourable environment to enable the peace process to be resuscitated and perhaps later to be resumed with a view to achieving a final agreement between the two sides. We sincerely hope that this will be achieved.

The President: I thank the Permanent Observer of Palestine for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Israel, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Lancry (Israel): I would like, first, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I would also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ouane of Mali, for his most capable leadership.

Nothing would have made me happier than to be able to stand before the Council today and announce a breakthrough in the peace process. Regrettably, circumstances compel me, instead, to deliver to the Council an update on the recent events that have taken place in Jerusalem and in the West Bank and Gaza.

At the outset, I wish to express my most profound sadness at the tragic loss of human life that has occurred in recent days. In particular, I would like to express here, before the Security Council, a feeling widely shared in Israel. We mourn, together with the Palestinians, the shattering death of the young Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra, as we mourn our own losses. It is precisely this human suffering that the Middle East peace process was meant to alleviate.

The events of the last few days represent the latest and most severe developments in a wave of violence that has been building in recent weeks. Although some are inclined to assign exclusive responsibility to Israel for these acts of provocation, the reality is far less simplistic. The present Palestinian escalation dates back to well before the Temple Mount disturbances, when, on 13 September, stones and Molotov cocktails were thrown at Israeli positions in the vicinity of the Netzarim junction in Gaza. This was followed by a number of increasingly violent incidents, including the killing of an Israeli soldier by a roadside bomb on 27 September and the murder of an Israeli police officer by a Palestinian policeman who served with him in a joint patrol of the West Bank on 29 September.

The events of this past Friday on the Temple Mount escalated the violence even further. Muslim worshippers, intent on provoking a violent confrontation with both Israeli police and civilians on the eve of the Jewish New Year, hurled a hail of stones at Jewish worshippers gathered at the Western Wall below. Israeli police attempted to turn back the protesters through non-violent means, but the mob persisted, trying to force its way out of the Temple Mount area and through the Mughrabim gate to the Western Wall plaza. At this point, the Israeli police, who had been deployed outside the perimeter of the Mount, were compelled to enter the area in order to push back the surging mob. The stone-throwing mob continued in its violence for a period of more than four hours.

Regrettably, the wave of widespread Palestinian violence did not stop there, despite Israeli attempts to end the clashes through dialogue. Let there be no doubt: we are not faced with peaceful demonstrators but, rather, with a coordinated escalation of violent confrontation throughout the West Bank and Gaza. In a fatal phenomenon which is now a commonplace occurrence, there have been numerous instances of live fire emanating from within rioting crowds.

Let me stress that in all the cases mentioned above, Israeli security personnel returned fire only when absolutely necessary and only when faced with an imminent threat to life and limb. Israeli forces exercised all possible restraint in their efforts to restore calm and security, and took action only as a last resort, in order to protect the lives of civilians, police officers and Israeli soldiers, as any Government would be obligated to do.

I must also stress that the responsibility for this distressing escalation lies squarely with the Palestinian Authority, not only because of its failure to take action to halt these events, but also because of its incitement of the population through inflammatory rhetoric and calls to violence. Furthermore, Palestinian Authority security forces and paramilitary groups, such as Fatah's Tanzim, have taken a leading role in the events, including the use of live ammunition against Israelis.

Even more disturbing for Israel is the wholesale violation of signed agreements regarding the use of weapons by Palestinian policemen. Yesterday alone, a soldier was ambushed and killed by a Palestinian policeman near the town of Beit Sahour. One Israeli civilian was shot and killed at close range when dropping his car off at a Palestinian-owned garage in the village of Maskheh. Palestinian attackers opened fire on an Israeli school bus near Shiloh. Israeli policemen were wounded in gunfire from armed Palestinian security forces in Jericho, Nablus, Ramallah, Netzarim and other locations. Throughout the day, I have been receiving persistent reports from our soldiers in the field about indiscriminate and unprovoked gunfire, including the use of heavy machine guns and high explosives emanating from Palestinian police positions. The Palestinian police have turned these weapons against the same Israeli soldiers with whom they carry out joint security tasks on a daily basis.

It is regrettable that at such a sensitive time in the Middle East peace process, the Palestinians have once again decided to resort to violence for political gain.

Experience has repeatedly shown that the Palestinian Authority's willingness to incite popular violence as a means to elicit concessions in the negotiations serves only to divert the peace process from its course and to hinder our ability to arrive at a permanent settlement.

At this decisive crossroads of peace negotiations, backed up by an unprecedented Israeli willingness to pursue a path of historic compromise, one major question demands our scrutiny: is Chairman Arafat truly prepared to forgo unrealistic demands and dreams and to embrace a reasonable peace? Or, will he for ever remain entrenched in his positions, and for ever play the role of the unquenchable leader of an endless Palestinian revolution?

We call upon the Palestinian leadership to act with responsibility, and to do its utmost to immediately calm the situation and to help foster a climate conducive to the advancement of peace negotiations. Specifically, we call upon the Palestinian Authority to put an end to the unrestrained use of gunfire by Palestinian police, to collect the illegal weapons in the hands of the Tanzim and to keep Palestinian protesters at a distance from Israeli positions, as is their obligation under the Oslo agreements.

I must reiterate that Israel remains committed to achieving a peace settlement with our Palestinian partners, even in the face of such violence. We call upon Chairman Arafat to contribute to the restoration of the spirit of trust and confidence between our two peoples and to resume the peace talks in earnest.

We look forward to the meeting tomorrow in Paris between Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat as an ideal opportunity to achieve this. For our part, we will continue the search for peace with the same unremitting determination that Mr. Barak has so clearly demonstrated in the recent past, and we will continue to make every effort to achieve a lasting peace and historic reconciliation between our two peoples.

The President: I thank the representative of Israel for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States of America): Mr. President, once again I must remark on the way in which Namibia's month has got off to a rather dramatic start. I hope you can slow the pace down, but I congratulate you on moving so rapidly to assemble this extremely important Security Council meeting under very difficult and complicated circumstances. I express my appreciation to my many friends, other Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives here who are waiting their turn to speak, and I hope they will understand the very difficult, complicated situation which led to the arrangements announced by the President of the Security Council a few minutes ago.

I have listened carefully to the statements of the previous two speakers, from the Palestinian Authority and from Israel, and on behalf of my Government I would like to address what they said on the situation.

The United States Government joins all the other members of the Council who, I am sure, will express their deep sorrow and regret at the violence we have seen between Israelis and Palestinians in recent days. We offer our deepest condolences to the families of the victims, particularly those who have lost children. We extend our sympathies to the injured. We pray for the restoration of peace in a region where, as both previous speakers have suggested, there has been an extraordinary effort by the leaders to achieve peace recently — in talks at Camp David, in Europe, in the Middle East and elsewhere.

What is needed now is to focus on stopping the violence and to do everything we can to encourage the parties to return to the peace process. This is the only way to end the cycle of heartbreak and sorrow. President Clinton and Secretary Albright and their colleagues are in ongoing consultations with the parties in a search for ways to end the violence. Tomorrow, Secretary Albright will meet in Paris with Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat. On Thursday, Egyptian President Mubarak will bring the parties together in Cairo for further discussions. I know that my French colleague, Ambassador Levitte, will also want to address the Paris meetings and we look forward to hearing from the Egyptian Ambassador, Mr. Aboulgheit later this afternoon with an important statement on behalf of his Government in regard to Egypt's role.

All of these meetings in Paris and in Egypt will have great importance. The world will be watching. The world will be hoping that the cycle of violence will be reversed and that the very encouraging and intense efforts to make progress will be resumed.

As soon as conditions permit, the United States will chair a meeting of Israeli and Palestinian security officials for the purpose of fact-finding and to prevent a recurrence of the events of the last few days.

But I want to stress that the first priority for all parties must be to stop the violence. Now is not the time to be apportioning blame. Israelis and Palestinians have negotiated historic agreements in the past. They have engaged in practical cooperation on the ground. Now, tragically, in full view of a horrified world, victims, innocent victims, have suffered senseless violence.

But empty rhetoric does not advance the cause of peace. Too often in the past, positions taken by the United Nations have tarnished this great Organization's credibility and undermined its ability to play a constructive role in the peace process. Let us not repeat this error again in this cycle of history. Recent events have undeniably been a setback for the peace process, and we cannot pretend otherwise. But let us not allow them to become a setback to our commitment and our efforts to move forward in the peace process and also to restore the United Nations credibility so that it may play whatever role it can in this process.

There is, of course, no place for violence, intimidation or pressure in this process, although we recognize that they have been concomitants of the problem for generations. The only way peace can be achieved — the only way the hopes and dreams of the people of the region can be fulfilled — is through negotiations. Neither side wants a future of indefinite confrontation. The way ahead lies through negotiations, to which both sides remain committed, as we have heard here today. At this delicate and dangerous moment, the Security Council should keep its focus on the task at hand: restoring calm and creating a climate in which the parties can take steps that will lead to a just, comprehensive and lasting peace.

Thank you, Mr. President, for calling this important meeting today.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, it is a pleasure to convey France's congratulations and best wishes on your presidency of the Security Council. However, the circumstances that have led to the holding of this open meeting are very grave indeed.

France expresses its keenly felt emotions in the face of the heavy toll that the clashes of the last few days have taken: some 60 dead, including three children aged 10 and 12, and a thousand injured. We wish here to express our profound sympathies and offer our condolences to the families of the victims.

The President of the French Republic, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have already clearly stated our position. The European Union, whose presidency France holds for the current six-month period, has also made public statements on this tragedy. I would like, however, before this Security Council, before the United Nations, to recall France's reaction.

These events are the result of a deliberate provocation by Mr. Ariel Sharon on Thursday, 28 September. France unreservedly condemns his irresponsible visit to the sacred site of the Mosque Plaza, undertaken for reasons of domestic politics, at the most sensitive time in the peace negotiations.

France deplores the violence that grew out of that visit. Above and beyond that provocation, it is the responsibility of those who are in charge of maintaining order that is at issue. As President Chirac put it yesterday morning, "You do not fight against the emotion of a people with armour". The disproportionate use of armed force witnessed in the last several days manifestly violates the Fourth Geneva Convention. We hope that full light will be shed on this tragedy, in the framework of international machinery suited to establishing responsibility.

It is a message of responsibility that the Council must today address to the parties. We solemnly call on the Israeli and Palestinian leaders to do all they can, within their respective spheres, to contribute to easing tension. The spiral of violence must be halted. Absolute priority must be given to stopping the fighting. The ceasefire entered into during the night of Monday/Tuesday must be strictly observed. The clashes play into the hands of the provocateurs and the enemies of the peace process. Calm must return on the ground. Security must be assured.

These clashes are all the more cause for grave concern because the two parties had never been closer to peace. With impetus provided by the United States, thanks to the efforts led by President Clinton and

Madeleine Albright, efforts which France supports, each party made courageous gestures towards the other at the Camp David summit. Those discussions gave reason to hope for an event awaited for over 50 years: peaceful coexistence, peace, between Israel and the State of Palestine. This historic occasion must not be lost.

We very much hope that the meeting tomorrow in Paris between President Arafat and Prime Minister Barak will make it possible to put a definitive end to the tragedy and to resume the path of dialogue, a dialogue to which, as the events of the last few days have reminded us, there is no alternative.

France and the European Union will continue resolutely to support the peace negotiations and, at the request of the parties, to make every possible contribution. There is no other option than peace. The parties must refrain from any action that might compromise the success of the negotiations. France invites the two parties to return to the talks, respecting the resolutions and conventions that make up international law. It invites them to adopt a calm approach to all the outstanding issues, in the spirit of the decisive strides made at the Camp David summit.

Having made a statement in my national capacity, I would like, on behalf of the European Union, whose presidency, I remind the Council, France currently holds, to read the following statements made public on 1 and 2 October, beginning with the statement of 1 October:

> "The European Union is very concerned at the continued bloody clashes in Jerusalem and in the territories, and is filled with consternation at the number of victims. These events show to what extent an act of provocation in tense circumstances can have tragic consequences.
>
> "The European Union calls upon the leaders of both parties to take all necessary steps to halt the violence and prevent new provocations.
>
> "It warns against the unjustified use of force.
>
> "The European Union invites the parties to concentrate again on the quest for a negotiated peace, which is more necessary than ever."

Yesterday, 2 October, the European Union declared:

> "On the fourth day of bloody clashes between Israelis and Palestinians, the European Union once again calls for reason to put an end to violence. It feels that the disproportionate resort to force can only aggravate the situation further, raise an already particularly deadly toll, and postpone the prospect of peace at a time when it appeared to be about to become a reality.
>
> "The European Union supports the creation of an international commission charged with objectively establishing the facts of the events of the last several days, and is ready to make its contribution to the work of such a commission.
>
> "The European Union remains convinced that only a negotiated solution can meet the aspirations of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples to peace and security."

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this public meeting of the Council on the present volatile situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. I also offer formally our warmest congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council.

Bangladesh is deeply concerned at the escalation of violence in the occupied territories and the excessive use of force against Palestinian civilians by Israeli troops, resulting in heavy casualties. This is most tragic and totally uncalled for. The image of terror-stricken 12-year old Muhammad al-Durrah before he was shot dead continues to haunt us. We condemn such brutal acts perpetrated by the Israeli forces.

We extend our heartfelt condolences to the families of all those killed and wounded in the recent violence. We also call for an appropriate inquiry into the events, including the possible violation of the Geneva Convention, to ensure that those responsible are brought to justice. We urge all parties to act with the utmost prudence and restraint, to refrain from acts of provocation and to make all efforts to restore calm.

We believe that the cycle of violence in the region can only end through a just and comprehensive peace agreement based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and the various international agreements signed between the parties concerned in the Middle East. In this connection, we emphasize the need for

immediate and full implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions regarding the withdrawal of Israeli occupation from all Arab territories, including eastern Jerusalem, as well as regarding the return of the refugees.

It is in this context that Bangladesh extends unreserved and unswerving support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent State with Jerusalem as its capital and the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their ancestral homes to live with dignity and honour. We urge Israel to refrain from all activities, including building new settlements in occupied Arab territories, that seek to alter the religious, political and ethnic character of these territories.

It is most unfortunate that, just when the peace process in the Middle East had reached a crucial stage, an Israeli leader's calculated provocation resulted in the recent escalation of violence in the occupied territories, putting the whole process in jeopardy. We reiterate the call for putting the peace process back on track and, in this context, welcome the initiative of the United States to convene a meeting between the leaders of Palestine and Israel in Paris tomorrow.

The President: I thank the representative of Bangladesh for his kinds words addressed to me.

Mr. van Walsum (Netherlands): It is good to see you in the chair again, Mr. President, for the first time since August 1999.

Let me also pay tribute to Ambassador Ouane, who so ably chaired our Council during the difficult millennium month of September.

My delegation's contribution to this debate is somewhat different from what I would have said if this meeting had been held yesterday. Our sorrow at all the tragic loss of life and large-scale human suffering, our consternation at the excessive violence used by the Israeli forces and our anger at Mr. Sharon's irresponsible visit to the steps of the ancient shrines in the Old City are not any less intense today. But today, we are meeting on the eve of the Paris summit, at which the parties will try to salvage the Middle East peace process and resuscitate the efforts to reach a lasting settlement.

In that light, it would seem more appropriate for us to express our gratitude for the fact that, in spite of everything that has happened, both sides seem to be beginning to bring the situation under control, thus setting the tone for tomorrow's meeting in Paris.

Against the background of the events of the past six days, it is not easy to be optimistic, but it may just be possible that these events have at last convinced everyone of the urgency of a negotiated, lasting settlement.

The President: I thank the representative of the Netherlands for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): My delegation congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October and assures you of our fullest cooperation. I should also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Moctar Ouane of Mali, for the admirable way in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

My delegation expresses its appreciation to you for convening this urgent meeting of the Council to consider the grave situation in Palestine in response to requests for such a meeting, including from Malaysia in its capacity as the Chairman of the Islamic Group at the United Nations and as coordinator of the caucus of non-aligned members of the Council. We are therefore doubly grateful to you.

My delegation is deeply dismayed at the turmoil that has descended on Palestine, particularly in East Jerusalem and Gaza, as well as in several Arab townships in Israel, following the provocative visit to the sacred Islamic site of Al-Haram Al-Sharif by the leader of the Likud Party, Mr. Ariel Sharon. To date, some 51 Palestinians — most of them innocent civilians — have been killed and over 1,000 wounded as a result of the massive use of deadly force by Israeli security forces. My delegation mourns these senseless deaths and offers its profound condolences.

My delegation strongly condemns the actions of the Israeli security forces against defenceless Palestinian civilians at Al-Haram Al-Sharif that have led to unnecessary bloodshed and loss of life. Malaysia also condemns the visit of the Likud Party leader to Al-Haram Al-Sharif in utter disregard of and contempt for the religious sensitivities of the Palestinians. His visit at a particularly delicate juncture in the peace process cannot be seen as anything but a brazen act intended to provoke Palestinian reaction. Given his well-known record and attitude towards the peace

process, it is not difficult to delve into the motivations that prompted him to visit the sacred site in the first place. It was a blatantly cynical and irresponsible exercise of political power for self-serving political ends. His visit, accompanied by heavily armed Israeli security forces, was no friendly visit. He did not go there as an ordinary visitor or tourist. He went there to assert the Israeli claim over the sacred site and over all of East Jerusalem at a particularly sensitive time. From his perspective, of course, Mr. Sharon's timing was nothing less than perfect.

It is very sad indeed that, instead of apportioning blame where it squarely belongs, the finger is now being pointed at the Palestinian Authority as if it had invited Mr. Sharon to visit Al-Haram Al-Sharif.

We have read news reports and witnessed on our television screens excessive and disproportionate use of force by Israeli security forces, which have used grenades, rocket launchers, tanks and helicopter gunships against civilians armed, for the most part, with only the most primitive of weapons, if you can call them that: crude rocks and stones. The world will not forget the image of the 12-year old child being brutally shot and killed in the arms of his own father while seeking protection behind a concrete wall. The fates of the boy and his father sum up the plight of the Palestinians living in the occupied Arab territories in general: that of very vulnerable people living in the territories who are from time to time caught haplessly in situations of violence and subjected to the draconian policies and practices of the army of an occupying Power. As a member of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, I am personally familiar with the plight of the Palestinian people living there.

My delegation calls on the Israeli authorities to put an immediate stop to the high-handed actions of their security forces and to bring to justice those directly and wilfully responsible for these tragic deaths. These actions constitute grave breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, which is applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. This Council has a clear responsibility to put an end to violations of the Convention, as well as to ensure the safety and protection of civilians, especially innocent children.

My delegation reaffirms its position that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace can be achieved only with the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian land occupied since 1967, including the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and occupied Syrian Golan. We also reaffirm that establishing an independent State of Palestine, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital, along with the implementation of all international resolutions on the Palestinian issue, are the only guarantees for lasting peace between Israel and Palestine.

Malaysia reaffirms its recognition of Al-Quds Al-Sharif as the political and historical capital of the Palestinian people and State. We recognize Al-Quds Al-Sharif as the meeting point of the three divine religions and the site of coexistence between the three great civilizations and cultures, and we recognize that it forms an integral part of the Palestinian lands occupied since 1967. We once again call on Israel, the occupying Power, to comply with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and all other relevant resolutions of the Council.

The grave situation in occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied Palestinian territory must be addressed immediately by the international community, especially this Council, which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. We must exercise our responsibility in order to ensure the safety and protection of the Palestinian people, rescue the Middle East peace process and enhance the prospects for peace in the region. My delegation welcomes the upcoming meeting on Wednesday, 4 October, in Paris and commends the efforts of the United States and France in this regard. We trust their efforts will bear fruit. We hope that the meeting will find a way to end the acts of provocation and violence and to restore peace. More importantly, we hope that the meeting will address the urgent issue of resuming the peace negotiations, leading to a final political settlement, thereby fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of all peace-loving Arabs and Jews.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Like representatives of other delegations, I, too, would first of all like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I would also like to extend thanks to your

predecessor, Ambassador Ouane, for the work that he and his delegation did in September.

The Russian Federation is deeply disturbed by the sharp deterioration of the situation in the Palestinian territories, Israel and East Jerusalem. We deeply regret that the new outbreak of violence has led to the deaths of dozens of people, including children. In this connection, we extend condolences to the families of those who have died.

These tragic events were the result of provocative acts committed in the Muslim holy places on 28 September. These acts were clearly intended to derail any forward movement on the Palestinian-Israeli track of a Middle East settlement.

For its part, the Russian leadership took immediate steps to help defuse the situation. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Russia, Mr. Ivanov, had urgent telephone conversations with the leadership of Israel and that of the Palestinian Authority. He urged that the necessary steps be taken to normalize the situation and to avoid any provocation.

We strongly condemn any kind of provocative acts, from whatever source, and similarly, we strongly condemn any manifestations of extremism that are aimed at derailing the negotiating process between the Palestinian and Israeli sides. In addition, we cannot but be concerned about the Israeli troops' excessive use of force, with lethal weapons.

Russia, as a co-sponsor of the peace process in the Middle East, urges the sides to demonstrate maximum restraint so as not to allow for any further outbreaks of violence. We also urge them to take steps to stabilize the situation. Only in this way will it be possible to revive the peace dialogue and arrive at acceptable agreements.

In this connection, we welcome the meeting, to be held tomorrow in Paris, between the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Barak, and Chairman Arafat. We sincerely desire to see that meeting succeed. We have noted the efforts made by the United States and France in organizing the meeting. We believe that that meeting should put an end to the current wave of violence. It is also particularly important to get the sides back to the negotiating table.

Now it is necessary to make every effort to not allow those who oppose a just peace between the Israelis and Palestinians to undermine the peace process. The Security Council must continue in the future to pay close attention to the situation in the Middle East, including in the occupied Palestinian territories. The Council must respond adequately so as to help to create a propitious political atmosphere for arriving at a comprehensive settlement.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency and on the convening of today's urgent and important meeting of the Security Council. We also pay tribute to Ambassador Moctar Ouane of Mali for his excellent work during the month of September, which led to the convening of the Security Council Summit.

Ukraine is deeply concerned about the high level of violence that broke out in the course of the past several days at the Al-Haram Al-Sharif compound in East Jerusalem and spread to other parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as to some parts of Israel. We were shocked and appalled by the disproportionate use of force, in particular the use of heavy weapons, by the Israel Defence Forces and by police against Palestinian civilians, which claimed the lives of more than 60 people, including Palestinian children, and left more than 1,500 people wounded or injured. We are similarly shocked by the casualties on the Israeli side.

I would like to add my voice to that of delegations that expressed their condolences to the families of all those who have been killed and wounded in these tragic events. We are hopeful that the ceasefire, which has been in place since dawn today, will hold, helping to prevent further loss of life and injuries among the civilian population.

My country strongly condemns all acts of violence and aggression by whomsoever committed. We urge the parties to stop the hostilities, to refrain from unilateral provocative actions and to persevere in their efforts aimed at reaching a final settlement agreement as soon as possible. The lives of innocent civilians should remain an absolute priority. In this connection, we call on Israel to ensure full respect for the Fourth Geneva Convention in the Palestinian territories.

Ukraine has always been supportive of the Middle East peace process, which is based on the

relevant United Nations resolutions and the principles laid down at the Madrid Peace Conference. We are convinced that the Palestinian and Israeli sides have no alternative but to complete the implementation of the Madrid peace process formula, which is based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as on the principle of land for peace.

It is also our firm belief that the political wisdom and far-sightedness of the Israelis and Palestinians will eventually help them reach a mutually acceptable compromise on such sensitive issues as the fate of the Holy City of Jerusalem and other permanent status issues. Ukraine hopes that, as a result of the strenuous efforts of the two sides, the Palestinian people will at long last find themselves in a position to exercise in full its right to self-determination and statehood.

We look forward to the forthcoming Israeli-Palestinian summits, to take place in Paris and Cairo. My country welcomes the readiness of France and Egypt to host these important events at such a critical moment. Ukraine highly commends the efforts of the United States in this regard. My delegation also welcomes the constructive engagement of the Secretary-General and his special representative on this issue.

Finally, my delegation believes that the Security Council should continue to follow closely the developments on the ground and act, as appropriate, in exercise of its primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. Ukraine is also of the view that the United Nations should retain its permanent responsibility towards the question of Palestine until it is resolved in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The President: I thank the representative of the Ukraine for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I congratulate you, Sir, on having assumed the office of President. I am delighted that the Council will be guided by someone with such experience, firmness, determination and sense of duty at a time when it is dealing with so delicate a situation as is before us this afternoon. Allow me also to thank the Ambassador of Mali for his effective leadership of the Council last month, also a very important period, with the holding of the Millennium Summit.

The Argentine Republic observes with great concern and deep regret the clashes that have caused upheavals in Israel and in the Palestinian territories in recent days. My country condemns the violence and regrets the fact that innocent lives have been taken, and it extends its most heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims. Argentina rejects the excessive use of force and urges the parties involved to act with the maximum caution, and in particular to refrain from causing or tolerating acts of provocation, which could exacerbate the delicate situation and jeopardize the peace process.

My delegation reaffirms the need to pursue the peace process, the only way to resolve the Middle East conflict, and urges the parties to return to the negotiating table in order to reach a definitive solution to the conflict, taking into account Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1974).

This is an opportune time to reaffirm my country's position regarding the Middle East conflict. The Argentine Republic has traditionally recognized Israel's right to live in peace with its neighbours within secure and internationally recognized borders. Similarly, we recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent sovereign State, which we hope can live in peace and harmony with Israel and its other neighbours.

Argentina welcomes the initiative of the United States Government in convening a meeting of the leaders of Israel and Palestine in Paris tomorrow, 4 October. We congratulate the United States Government on this timely action and the French Government on hosting the meeting. We also support the initiative of the Egyptian Government in holding a meeting between Prime Minister Barak and President Arafat in Cairo on 5 October. We hope that these initiatives will help the parties control the situation and put an end to the violence.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Ms. Durrant (Jamaica): Allow me to welcome you, Sir, to the presidency and to assure you of the Jamaican delegation's support as you guide the work of the Council. I would also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, His Excellency Moctar Ouane of Mali, who presided so ably over the Council during the busy month of September.

My delegation wishes to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this open meeting of the Council, which provides an opportunity for members and non-members of the Council to express their views on the tragic developments related to the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question.

Jamaica regrets the recent outbreak of violence that has erupted in Jerusalem and in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and condemns the excessive use of force against Palestinian civilians, which has unfortunately resulted in the tragic loss of so many innocent lives. We express our deep condolences to the families of the deceased.

We urge the parties to refrain from the use of force and provocative acts which could serve to undermine the peace process. We appeal to them to take immediate steps to create the necessary environment for the restoration of peace and stability and the continuation of talks leading to a comprehensive and lasting settlement.

The Council has been seized of the situation in the Middle East over the past 50 years, during which the Council has continuously encouraged an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through an active negotiating process which takes into account the right to security for all States in the region, including Israel, as well as the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Over the years there have been several commendable initiatives aimed at achieving this goal by the United Nations as well as by individual States and regional organizations. The situation in the region continues to require our collective action in order to remove threats to international peace, to prevent breaches of the peace and to bring about a comprehensive settlement of the dispute. We subscribe to the view that it is only through negotiation that a lasting solution will be found.

The outbreak of violence comes at a time when strenuous efforts are being made to bring peace to the region and at a critical juncture when the leaders of both Israel and Palestine are engaged in serious negotiations. Recently the Council addressed the situation in southern Lebanon, and my delegation expressed the hope that the developments there would serve as a stimulant to the peace process. Jamaica is therefore very concerned about the destabilizing effects that the recent developments may have on the Middle East peace process as a whole. We would not like to see the unravelling of the process, and therefore attach importance to the efforts of the Secretary-General, through his Personal Representative, Mr. Terje Roed-Larsen, who is expected to hold talks with both parties. We also welcome the forthcoming meetings to be held in Paris on Wednesday, 4 October, between United States Secretary of State Albright and Prime Minister Barak and President Arafat, and in Cairo on the following day under the auspices of President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

The negotiations for peace are complex and have been dogged with periodic setbacks over the years. Despite that, we must continue the search for peace. It is my delegation's hope that these talks will lay the foundation for progress and provide the necessary environment for sustainable peace.

The President: I thank the representative of Jamaica for her kind words addressed to me.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): It is certainly right that we should be discussing this item at this time. We and all of our partners in the European Union have been shocked by the violence in Jerusalem, elsewhere in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and in Israel in the past few days.

We deplore the catastrophic loss of life and are horrified in particular by the deaths of innocent children. It is alarming how quickly in this theatre of tension the recourse to violence can get so out of hand. Those who have been fuelling the violence of the last few days are people who want to derail the peace process, and they cannot be allowed to succeed.

These tragic events bring home the need for a new urgency in resolving the outstanding issues in the Middle East peace process. It is vital that the violence come to an end so that peace talks can get under way again. In that regard, we welcome the talks that the United States Secretary of State will host in Paris tomorrow between Prime Minister Barak and President Yasser Arafat and those that President Mubarak of Egypt will host in Cairo on Thursday, 5 October. There needs to be a return to diplomacy and negotiation.

The Middle East region needs to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace to benefit all its peoples. The region's future and its people's prosperity will depend partly on trade and cooperation between them.

Britain and the rest of the European Union have made clear their commitment to assist the region to develop in that way. But progress will be painfully slow unless we have a peace agreement. Only a peace agreement will enable the people of the region to realize their potential. It is the duty of the region's leaders to make sure that we turn away from violence and conclude a negotiated peace. If they fail, they fail their peoples. They must show the strength and wisdom to overcome the immediate difficulties and to focus on achieving peace as a priority, and so pave the way to a brighter future.

So, the immediate task is to break this cycle of violence and the use of force. We call for calm, and we urge both parties to exercise the utmost restraint.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Like other members, I wish, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We believe that you will carry out your duties with success, as you have done over the past few days. I wish also to congratulate Ambassador Ouane on his outstanding contribution in September.

The Chinese delegation thanks you very much, Mr. President, for convening this meeting to consider the recent bloody events in Jerusalem and other places. Over the past five days, Jerusalem and other occupied Arab territories have been the scene of sustained violence. It is appalling that Israeli military police have used helicopters, tanks and rockets against Palestinian civilians, causing many casualties and deaths among civilians, including, in particular, children. China expresses its strong condemnation and indignation in that regard, and wishes to convey its condolences to the families of the victims.

The conflicts that have raged over the past few days must be completely stopped, or more innocent civilians, women and children in particular, will continue to suffer death or injury.

The Security Council bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is duty-bound to protect civilians in Palestine. The Council must send the strongest possible signal that these bloody incidents, in which innocent civilians have been the victims of violence, must be brought to an end.

Palestine and Israel are now engaged in negotiations on such sensitive issues as the final status of Jerusalem. The entire peace process is at a critical stage, yet an Israeli opposition leader made a sudden visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif and made a controversial statement. That was a most irresponsible, provocative act that the Council ought to condemn.

It is China's strong hope that, at this critical juncture, the parties concerned will exercise the utmost restraint and halt all statements and actions detrimental to the peace process, and that they will create the conditions necessary for resuming and accelerating the peace negotiations. We also expect the upcoming Paris and Cairo meetings to yield positive results enabling the arduous peace negotiations to continue and making it possible, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, to achieve a settlement of the Palestinian issue at an early date.

The President: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): Canada is most concerned at the violence that has occurred in recent days in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. We appeal to both parties to do everything necessary to put an immediate end to the hostilities and to work together on specific measures to prevent the repetition of such a situation.

Israeli and Palestinian leaders must do everything necessary to ensure that security forces and civilians act with restraint, and to prevent any statement or other action that could make the situation more tense than it already is.

(*spoke in English*)

We deplore the loss of life on both sides, particularly the deaths of innocent children, which have understandably appalled the world. Canada extends its sincere condolences to the families of the victims.

Further inflammatory actions at this critical time will serve only to disrupt the negotiations and to provoke further violence. Responding to them will serve only the interests of those who would seek not to make peace. In that context, Mr. Sharon's visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif/Temple Mount last Thursday did

not serve the cause of peace, and has in fact damaged it — if only, as we hope and expect, temporarily.

There has been violence on both sides, but the disproportionate and excessive use of force and the very large number of Palestinian civilian fatalities have been particularly disturbing. This violence is especially heart-wrenching because it is so unnecessary. Israeli and Palestinian leaders have demonstrated the ability to understand the needs of the other party and the willingness to work together to achieve a just and honourable peace. Over the past decade, together, they have achieved through negotiation what many thought impossible. They must not falter so close to the goal.

Both Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat understand that the needs and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians can be met only through negotiations and through the peace that negotiations will bring. Canada therefore strongly endorses the efforts of the United States and Egypt to bring the parties together again.

Perhaps this chapter of the conflict will finally have persuaded everyone concerned that peace is necessary and possible now. The Security Council will have fulfilled its role if our efforts contribute to the return of the parties to the negotiating table with renewed determination to end this conflict and to make the peace that is the right of ordinary Israelis and Palestinians.

The President: I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): I wish at the outset to thank you, Sir, for convening this formal meeting of the Security Council at the very start of your presidency of the Council for the month of October. We appreciate the serious-mindedness and determination you have demonstrated in discharging your responsibilities, and we wish you every success as you carry out your duties this month. I take this opportunity also to pay tribute to Ambassador Ouane for his skilful stewardship of the Council last month.

This meeting is of extraordinary importance because of the painful events and distressing developments we are witnessing in the occupied Palestinian territories. The situation in Jerusalem and in the occupied Palestinian territories is highly explosive, and grows more dangerous daily owing to the provocative actions being taken against Palestinian citizens and against their religious feelings.

As part of the campaign mounted by the Israeli forces against Palestinian civilians, particularly in Jerusalem, as pointed out by all speakers, the Israeli military forces have used excessive force, including snipers, live ammunition, helicopter gunships and tanks in Palestinian towns to gun down innocent Palestinian civilians. These brutal acts by Israeli forces resulted in the deaths of scores of Palestinians, including innocent children, and injury to hundreds of Palestinian civilians. That intimidated the entire population, which should have enjoyed the protection of the occupying Power.

We in Tunisia express our profound condolences to the families of the victims. We strongly condemn those Israeli actions, which violate the Geneva Conventions and are a violation of holy sites.

The Permanent Observer of Palestine has outlined the events that graphically show the gravity of the situation and its deterioration. These actions not only are a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and Israel's responsibilities towards its citizens, they also constitute a serious threat to the peace process in the Middle East. Against this serious backdrop, the whole world is looking to the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, to carry out its responsibility. The world expects quick action to stop the serious deterioration of the situation, to protect innocent, helpless Palestinian civilians and to demonstrate respect for hundreds of millions of Muslims worldwide, primarily through the withdrawal of Israeli security forces from Al-Haram Al-Sharif and ending the brutal campaign against the Palestinians.

Delays in ending these violations and provocations will exacerbate the situation and aggravate the Palestinian population's sense of frustration and injustice at this critical moment, when the Middle East peace process needs everyone's support and commitment, especially that of the parties directly involved. The occurrence of these events at this particular juncture of the peace process places it in jeopardy. This will only serve the interest of the parties that have no interest in the peace process.

Our duty today, as it has been since the beginning of the peace process, is to deny the efforts of those parties and to create conditions for resuming and

continuing the peace process, which is the responsibility of the international community, particularly the co-sponsors and the European Union, in order to end one of the most serious and complicated conflicts of the twentieth century.

The Security Council is called upon to create those conditions by authorizing an immediate and transparent international inquiry into these events so that the peace process can resume with a view to achieving a lasting, comprehensive and just peace, based on United Nations resolutions and the land-for-peace formula agreed to by all parties.

Today's urgent Security Council meeting is a clear invitation to stand up to the use of power, to show our respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their religious sentiments, to show our sympathy for the victims' families, to create conditions to restore and revive the peace process and to encourage dialogue and negotiation. These actions are at the core of Security Council responsibilities, which remains the highest authority charged with maintaining international peace and security.

In this context, we hope the Palestinian-Israeli summit, to be held tomorrow in Paris under the sponsorship of the United States, will help calm the situation and seriously advance the peace process by showing respect for international law and the agreements undertaken by the parties concerned.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): Mali is happy to see the Security Council meet under your leadership during the month of October, Mr. President. I wish to thank you for the kind words that you and other members of the Council have addressed to me in connection with Mali's term as President of the Council.

My delegation is grateful to you for having organized this open debate. As was expressed publicly by the Government of Mali on 1 October, I wish to reaffirm our sympathy for the families of the victims. Secondly, true to its principles, Mali strongly condemns all acts of violence and aggression, including the bloodshed of the last five days.

Thirdly, Mali strongly supports the creation of an international fact-finding commission to establish responsibility for the events of the last few days. Fourthly, following the shocking images shown by the media over the last few days, we believe it is urgently necessary that the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Protocols be respected.

Fifthly and lastly, for Mali the renewal of the peace process is the only way to reach a settlement of this continuing problem. In this context, the visit to Paris on 4 October by President Arafat and Prime Minister Ehud Barak offers a useful opportunity to help end the violence and renew the parties' commitment to resuming the peace process.

The President: I thank the representative of Mali for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

My delegation is deeply shocked by and strongly condemns the recent violence unleashed by Israeli security forces against Palestinian civilians, including innocent women and children. My delegation is particularly shocked by the large number of deaths and injuries that were caused by the excessive use of force and the indiscriminate deployment of heavy weaponry, such as helicopter gunships and tanks, by Israel.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my delegation's profound condolences to the families of all those killed and wounded. In my delegation's view, the actions by the Israeli security forces constitute serious breaches of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, which is applicable to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Israel, as the occupying Power, should scrupulously ensure that all the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention are fully implemented.

The events of the past few days resulted undoubtedly from the irresponsible and provocative visit by Mr. Ariel Sharon to Al-Haram Al-Sharif. The sensitive nature of his action was well known, and what happened can only be viewed as a deliberate provocation. This has unfortunately caused a serious setback to the delicate peace negotiations under way.

In view of the setbacks, it is now more than ever required of the parties to end violence and to exercise the utmost restraint, which are prerequisites for a return to the peace process. My delegation therefore calls on both the Palestinian and Israeli parties to resume negotiations towards a peaceful settlement. It is most

important that they do not play into the hands of those who wish to derail the peace process. In that regard, my delegation welcomes the proposed summit to be held in Paris tomorrow, as well at the one to be held in Cairo on Thursday.

Full peace will never return to the Middle East until a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine is reached on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Only an independent State of Palestine will give the Palestinian people back their humanity. The image of that 12-year-old — that sad and cold image — must serve as a reminder to all of us of the urgency of establishing an independent State of Palestine. The international community should not further victimize the Palestinian people. There has been enough human suffering. The Security Council has a responsibility towards the people in the Arab occupied territories.

To that end, my delegation wishes to reiterate its support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representative to address the issue. We also call on the international community to provide the necessary humanitarian assistance to the people of Palestine.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboulgheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of October. I trust that, with your abilities and wisdom, you will be able to guide our deliberations on this important and critical issue so that the Council can assume the role of maintaining international peace and security that has been entrusted to it by the entire membership of the United Nations.

The Government and the people of Egypt are enraged not only because our Palestinian brethren are suffering as a result of Israeli acts of aggression, violence and oppression, but also because of the intransigent and truth-denying position of Israeli officials, who will not even admit Israel's clear responsibility for the bloody events that have taken place before the eyes of the entire world.

We meet in the midst of an explosive situation in the occupied Palestinian territories brought about as a result of rage and oppression. That rage exists because of last week's provocative visit by the leader of the opposition party to Al-Haram Al-Sharif. Without any sense of shame, that leader declared that his visit was aimed at asserting what he referred to as Israel's right to the holy place that is home to the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Those two monuments bear within themselves clear testimony to the sovereignty of the Islamic and Palestinian nation over them.

Everyone knows that the opposition leader is a staunch opponent of the peace process and of the legitimate restoration of the rights of Palestinians, as well as someone whose aim is to inflame feelings and incite anger and violence among the Palestinian people. What we should really wonder about is the position of the Israeli Government. On the one hand, that Government claims that it is working for peace and the achievement of a permanent solution to the Palestinian conflict. On the other hand, we see that Government allowing such a provocative visit to take place, even providing tight security for it.

That situation makes us wonder seriously about coordination between the Government and the opposition in Israel. We see it as a desperate attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Palestinian party with regard to the issue of sovereignty over the holy sites in Jerusalem, and in particular over Al-Haram Al-Sharif.

With regard to oppression, I do not really feel the need to discuss that issue in detail before the members of the Council. International media have recently shown us the sad and tragic pictures of Palestinian children, youths and men being gunned down by the Israeli army. We have all seen the bloody and tragic scene of the death of a Palestinian child in the arms of his father. I hope that those scenes, which have broken our hearts in Egypt and in the Arab world, will prompt the members of the Security Council to act decisively against the perpetrators of those atrocities.

The crux of this serious crisis can be seen in one major element, namely, the question of Jerusalem — East Jerusalem and the Old City in particular, which have been forcibly occupied by Israel since 1967, as have all other Palestinian territories. The international community, members of the Security Council and world public opinion have once again seen, from the repercussions of the provocative visit to Al-Haram

Al-Sharif by the leader of Israel's Likud Party, how deeply Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims feel about the Holy City. The people of the world may also appreciate how indignant they themselves would be if their sanctuaries were to be similarly defiled.

The repercussions of recent events also prove to everyone that Israel's claim that 98 per cent of the Palestinian people are under Palestinian rule is totally unfounded. Israeli tanks encircle Palestinian cities. Live ammunition is used against demonstrators in the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinian people are still under occupation. Even those places that were liberated are stifled by Israeli forces when and as they please.

Some say that political measures, regardless of when they occur and under what circumstances, must target peace and support the peace process, and that that can happen only if the Security Council is kept out of political developments in the region and if such measures are confined to the respective parties. We believe that the achievement of peace in the region is Egypt's first priority, as is well known. Egypt is working tirelessly, with determination and wisdom, with the co-sponsor of the peace process, the United States of America, and with other parties for the realization of this objective.

This does not mean, however, that the Security Council is exempt from its responsibilities under the Charter. The truth is still there, before our very eyes. There is an occupying force, an occupied people and occupied territories. There are international conventions applicable to these territories and to the situation and the status of the people. Foremost among these conventions is the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, the applicability of which was confirmed by the Security Council in its earlier resolutions. The Council reiterated that these provisions apply to all Palestinian territories, including Holy Jerusalem.

Accordingly, we call on the Security Council to take measures that guarantee the non-entry by the armed Israeli forces, including security and Army forces, into the courtyard of Al-Haram Al-Sharif; demand the immediate cessation of any harassment by the Israeli Army of the Palestinian people; condemn the acts perpetrated by the occupying Power in the Palestinian territories; and call on the occupying Power to abide by international legality and the provisions of the relevant conventions, foremost among which is the Fourth Geneva Convention.

We also call on the Security Council and its members to reiterate their position that the Palestinian territories, including East Jerusalem, are occupied territories, to which the Geneva Conventions apply. Secondly, we call on the Council to investigate the shameful events that have occurred and to hold accountable the Israeli officials who opened fire on Palestinian civilians and to bring them to justice. Thirdly, the Council must condemn the provocative visit of the leader of the Israeli opposition party. Fourthly, it must work to guarantee the right to compensation of the Palestinian civilians who were injured or killed by these Israeli acts of aggression.

President Hosni Mubarak has already sent an invitation to Chairman Arafat and to the Israeli Prime Minister, as well as to Mrs. Madeleine Albright, the American Secretary of State, to visit Egypt on Thursday to discuss recent events and determine their cause; to put an end to Israeli provocations and see to it that they do not recur; and to reinvigorate the peace process, to which we attach great importance.

A just and equitable peace is our common objective. However, achieving this peace calls for sincere determination on the part of both parties. Sensationalism and negative provocations such as the recent visit I spoke of earlier should not be allowed to overshadow the sincere efforts of the American co-sponsor of the peace process and the concerned parties.

If the Israeli side believes that it is in its interest to escalate the situation so that it can achieve some political gains, we would like to warn it, before the Council, that such an approach will greatly jeopardize the peace process. Israel must understand the sensitivity of the situation with regard to the status of Jerusalem. It must stop using military oppression to defend political positions that it knows full well lack any basis in international law or international legitimacy. It knows also that such positions lack any international support.

Al-Haram Al-Sharif is, and will remain, an Islamic site. East Jerusalem is a Palestinian occupied territory. Israel must terminate its occupation sooner or later. We hope that the Council will understand the gravity of the situation and act accordingly.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): It is a great joy, Mr. President, to see you guide us in this meeting today. I regret that these are not happy circumstances in which we could have celebrated your presidency of the Council. I wish also to express our great respect for and joy at the stewardship of the Ambassador of Mali in the previous month.

Unfortunately, this is not the first time that we have met on a similar issue. Ten years ago, on 12 October 1990, the Council expressed alarm at the violence which took place at Al-Haram Al-Sharif and other holy places in Jerusalem.

At that time, the Security Council adopted resolution 672 (1990) condemning the acts of violence committed by the Israeli security forces, which had resulted in injuries and loss of human life. Furthermore, the Council called upon Israel to abide meticulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War — the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 — which is applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. It is thus with bitter regret that today we gather again in an emergency meeting to once again condemn acts of violence related to that holy place. Especially alarming is the use of live ammunition against civilians by the Israeli security forces.

Last Thursday, Mr. Ariel Sharon, leader of the Likud Party, led a defiant and provocative visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif in occupied East Jerusalem. This was done in total disregard of the advice of some in the Israeli Government and other international role players. Mr. Sharon acted as a catalyst of this latest occurrence of violence. It cannot be denied that such provocative actions serve to arouse the anger and resentment of Palestinians in what is already a volatile situation.

The invasion of the sanctity of the holy places has a very harmful effect on the Middle East peace process. In this regard, the Non-Aligned Movement views all attempts to undermine the terms of reference of the Middle East peace process as a serious obstacle to the realization of peace.

At the September meeting of the ministers of the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in New York, the ministers reaffirmed their determination to actively strive towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land for peace. In this context, they stressed the need for the Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem.

Furthermore, the ministers reaffirmed that a just and comprehensive peace can be achieved only by upholding international legitimacy and relevant United Nations resolutions. The Non-Aligned Movement believes that it is incumbent on all Member States to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international humanitarian law and all other instruments of international law, as well as relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The Non-Aligned Movement therefore calls on the Israeli Government to exercise restraint and act in accordance with its stated desire to achieve peace. It further urges Israel to cease its measures of collective punishment against Palestinians, to restore the sanctity of Al-Haram Al-Sharif and to allow free access to it by Muslim worshippers.

Speaking as the representative of South Africa, I should like to say that my Government remains convinced that the leaders in Palestine and in Israel are committed to seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict. It is for this reason that we welcome the opportunity for continued peace dialogue in Paris and Cairo in the coming days. We still look forward to a breakthrough in the negotiations, despite the violence. We believe that it is only the speedy resolution of the final status issues that will ensure lasting peace in the Middle East.

The President: I thank the representative of South Africa for his kind words addressed to me.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I intend to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 5.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4204/Corr.1

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4204th meeting

Tuesday, 3 October 2000, 3 p.m.
New York

Corrigendum

Page 13, second column, fifth full paragraph

For President Yasser Arafat *read* Chairman Yasser Arafat

00-69508 (E)

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4204th meeting

Wednesday, 4 October 2000, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Andjaba	(Namibia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Netherlands	Mr. vanWalsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/928)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/929)

Identical letters dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/930)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/934)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/935)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-67366 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.20 p.m., 4 October 2000.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Indonesia, Japan, Lebanon, Morocco, Nepal, Oman, the Sudan, the United Arab Emirates and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia), Mr. Akasaka (Japan), Mr. Tadmoury (Lebanon), Mr. Zahid (Morocco), Mr. Sharma (Nepal), Mr. Al-Hassan (Oman), Mr. Erwa (Sudan), Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) and Mr. Nguyen Thanh Chau (Viet Nam), took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which reads as follows:

> "In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have the honour to request that I be invited to participate in the debate on the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council."

On previous occasions, the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 3 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to Hussein Hassouna, Ambassador, Permanent Observer for the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to participate in the Council's forthcoming discussions on the situation in the Palestinian occupied territories."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2000/939.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Hussein Hassouna.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 3 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour in my capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Group of the United Nations to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to participate in the discussion under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Mokhtar Lamani, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion on the item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question', scheduled for Wednesday, 4 October 2000."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2000/951.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Lamani.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): Despite the tragic circumstances in which this first meeting of the Security Council under your presidency, Sir, is being held, I should like to express my joy and pride at seeing you, a worthy son of Africa, following another worthy son of Africa at the helm of the Council.

I am convinced that the great professional and human qualities that all of your colleagues recognize in you will enable you to conduct the work of the Council as brilliantly as did your predecessor, my brother Ambassador Moctar Ouane of Mali — who has earned our gratitude and admiration — during a particularly busy month, when heads of State and Government honoured us with their presence, including in this very Chamber.

I thank you for the opportunity to participate in these deliberations. I should like to make a few comments concerning the way the Security Council functions and its attitude towards deciding the timeliness of convening or not convening a formal meeting.

Increasingly, the consultations of the Council have indeed been delayed and dragged out beyond measure over the question of whether or not to meet in public, even when a request for such a meeting has been submitted by one or several regional groups; over the principle of whether or not to involve non-members of the Council; over the issue of whether or not to limit, out of considerations that are not always well founded, the right of certain countries to speak; and even over the merit of calling on speakers to adopt a particular tone in debates.

As if it were not enough that the Council's way of doing business already causes sufficient problems and that its methods already need revision and improvement, attempts are now being made to restrict access to it.

I wish to remind the Council that it is my understanding and that of the States Members of this Organization that it is the absolute right of any Member State to call for a public meeting and that it is also the absolute right of any State to speak in a debate and to adopt the tone it deems appropriate.

For a number of States Members of this Organization, and certainly for its weakest and smallest, the United Nations remains the ultimate forum in which they can, in all freedom and without fear, express their opinions, their expectations and even their frustrations and anger when the international community is incapable of protecting women and children from the deadly madness of men in the Middle East, in Africa, Europe or elsewhere.

To restrict the right to speak and to prefer the secrecy of consultations — which may occasionally prove to be useful and necessary — to frank, transparent and open debate is undemocratic and contrary to the very principles of our Organization. If this regrettable trend continues, we may one day find ourselves reduced to contemplating the famous statement of a French revolutionary: "All we have left is the right to keep quiet and there has been talk of stripping us of that". This situation only makes the reform of the Security Council even more urgent. Perhaps it is time for us seriously to tackle this question.

For several days now the populations of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the occupied Palestinian territories have been the objects of a repression the likes of which has rarely been seen since the intifada. Children and adolescents, armed only with their faith in the justice of their cause, and having nothing to protect themselves besides the pathetic means of defence that nature offers them, are, in effect, facing an incredible deployment of force involving tanks, missiles and helicopter gunships.

The result of this obviously unfair confrontation — can we really talk about a confrontation? — is that scores of innocent people, including very young children, including even today a 10-year-old child in the Gaza Strip — have been killed in cold blood by bullets. Meanwhile, to fight their murderers these young people have had only their fists and their stones, and even the ambulances bearing the flag of the Red Cross have been fired at.

Over these past days we have all witnessed this barbaric behaviour of another age. We all saw live on our television screens the unbearable sight of that 12-year-old child who was cruelly killed despite the supplications of his father and his father's vain attempts to protect his son from the bullets of the Israeli soldiers. What is still worse is that even the ambulance worker who tried to help found himself caught in the crossfire of the Israeli army and was killed.

If these painful images that the cameras have brought into each of our living rooms and that still haunt us and will haunt us for ever, even in this Chamber of the Security Council — if these images can serve some purpose, it is to convince us that, on the one hand, it is not acceptable that children are targeted, and, on the other hand, that as a matter of urgency we must do all we can to see to it that this shameful butchery stops as soon as possible and that the civilian population that has been the victim of the brutality of the Israeli occupying forces is protected.

The acts that triggered the tragic developments that have been occurring in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the occupied territories since last Friday are well known, as are those who are responsible for it. We all know that the originator of this terrible tragedy was the commander who ordered the massacre of Sabra and Shatila and the invasion and occupation of Lebanon. We all also know that what he wished to achieve from these acts of provocation — which led to the tragedy that the people in the occupied Palestinian territories are now undergoing — was to scuttle the peace process and wreck for ever the chance of achieving a just and final settlement of the Palestinian question. And we all know that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace cannot be achieved without the total, definitive withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the territories that have been occupied since 1967 and without the restoration of the Palestinian people's national, legitimate rights, including its right to create its own independent State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

In this difficult time when Palestinian civilians are victims of the brutality of the occupying forces, it is important that the Security Council rise to its responsibilities and fulfil its role and its mandate with regard to the Palestinian people and international law. In this connection, the Council must see to it that, as soon as possible, a stop is put to the illegal actions that the Israeli occupying Power is engaging in. In particular, an end must be put to the use of real bullets against a defenceless civilian population.

The Israeli security forces must also immediately withdraw from the plaza of Al-Haram Al-Sharif and allow the third holy place of Islam to regain its serenity and tranquillity, and they must also must withdraw from the Palestinian towns where they are deployed. Finally, Israel, as the administering Power, must be put on notice to respect the Fourth Geneva Convention and to guarantee the security and protection of Palestinian civilians.

These are our expectations — the expectations of my country, Algeria, which has stood, continues to stand and in the future will stand united with the fraternal Palestinian people, and which believes firmly that peace is the right strategy for the settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These are also, I am sure, the expectations of the international community as a whole, and the Security Council has no right to disappoint it.

The President: I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan): Let me also begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting to consider a serious development that comes to all of us as a shock.

We all saw the pain-ridden face of that small child lying at his father's side as the last breath of life slipped out of him. This was only one glimpse of the fate that is suffered by thousands of children in different parts of the world that are under foreign occupation or in conflict situations. This tragedy is a grim reminder that a part of humanity dies each time an innocent life is snuffed out by violence.

The Security Council meets today in the wake of the tragic events in Palestine, resulting in the deaths of scores of innocent civilians, including children, and injuries to many others. With these events, the hope that peace was finally taking root in the Middle East has fast evaporated.

We share the international outrage and concern at the high-handedness of the Israeli forces' actions against defenceless Palestinian civilians in the very vicinity of Al-Haram Al-Sharif, the third most holy place of Islam. The immediate reason is the misplaced determination of certain elements in Israel to undermine the Middle East peace process. The Security Council must send an unequivocal message that such provocative actions and the bloodshed of innocent Palestinians are unacceptable to the international community.

The excessive force used by the Israeli security forces is simply unjustifiable. Grave breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 have been committed. The first article of that Convention emphasizes that

> "The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) continue to provide a viable and just framework for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The status of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, Holy Jerusalem, remains central to any comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. No lasting peace in the region will be possible without the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. These include their right to establish their independent State with Holy Jerusalem as its capital and the exercise of their full sovereignty over Al-Haram Al-Sharif. Pakistan extends its unequivocal support to the just struggle of the people of Palestine for their inalienable rights. This has been our policy in respect of all peoples struggling against foreign occupation and repression.

The peace process had recently been making steady, if agonizingly slow, progress due to realistic approaches of the leaders of the two sides. It has now been dealt a severe blow and has been pushed to the verge of collapse. Continuation of the violence threatens to wreck the peace process. Immediate steps are therefore needed to prevent any further deterioration of the situation. The peace process must be urgently put back on track on the basis of agreements reached and full compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. At stake are the authority and credibility of the United Nations.

Prompt action is therefore required by the international community, in particular the Security Council, to put an end to the present round of violence against the Palestinians, secure Israel's compliance with United Nations resolutions, ensure the safety and sanctity of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and facilitate the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people. The prospects for peace in that region, and indeed the future prosperity of the Middle East, now rest with this body.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Hussein (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is my pleasure at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council this month. I am confident that your wisdom, experience and wide-ranging knowledge will lead us to the desired success. May I also express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Mali, for the skill with which he presided over the deliberations of the Council last month. May I furthermore express my thanks to you for convening this emergency meeting of the Security Council following a request by the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned States.

The convening of this emergency meeting at this time to take up the situation in the Palestinian occupied territories is a clear expression of how aware and concerned the Security Council is about the latest grave events that threaten our region with a new wave of violence and bloodshed. His Majesty King Abdullah Bin Al Hussein has warned of the threat of such acts to the peace process. These events once again reaffirm the urgent need for peace in the Middle East as well as the right of the Palestinian people to be rid of the injustice and occupation under which they have languished for a very long time.

The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan condemns the attacks and the heinous crimes committed against Palestinians in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the occupied territories by the Israeli occupation forces. We call on the Israeli Government to withdraw its forces from the territories and towns under Palestinian authority without delay.

The events in Al-Quds Al-Sharif are a direct consequence of extremism and provocative practices perpetrated by those who reject peace inside Israel against Palestinians and against the feelings of Arabs and Muslims. The Prime Minister of Jordan, Mr. Ali Abul Ragheb, has stated that condoning extremism will only lead to further extremism and strife and will overcome the voice of dialogue, which we have all accepted in the region as the only effective means to reach just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan calls on the Israeli Government to shoulder its responsibilities vis-à-vis this critical situation at this delicate stage of the peace process in the region. We call upon it to cease harming the Palestinian people. In

particular, it must stop the harm being meted out by short-sighted extremists who, by their acts, are undermining the peace process and working to renew strife, violence, hatred and enmity in the region.

Jordan, its King, its Government and its people reaffirm their solidarity with our brothers, the Palestinian people, as they seek to achieve their legitimate rights and establish their independent State on their national soil with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

May I, on behalf of my Government, express our condolences and sympathy to the Palestinian leadership and to our brothers, the Palestinian people, and with their innocent martyrs.

The President: I thank the representative of Jordan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. Ibra Deguène Ka, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ka (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (*spoke in French*): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I am certain that under your wise guidance the work of the Council will proceed in a constructive, effective and successful fashion.

I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Moctar Ouane, Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations, on the exemplary way in which he guided the work of the Council in September — which is to say during the historic millennium Summit.

I am grateful to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Security Council for having given me the opportunity to participate, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, in this important debate on the very recent events in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem.

For several months we have been following very closely the endeavours to bring about a final peace settlement between the Israelis and the Palestinians, and we had been increasingly hopeful about the outcome of the peace process. Although the Camp David peace summit sponsored by the United States in July did not yield all the hoped-for results, the parties nevertheless remained together and frankly addressed all the issues. This gave us reason to hope that agreement might be reached. Indeed, the Palestinian side decided last month to postpone a declaration of statehood, even though it was entirely entitled to make such a declaration. With that courageous and responsible act, Palestine gave peace another chance.

Unfortunately, the Israeli side failed to reciprocate. Throughout the time when Israeli-Palestinian final status negotiations were under way, Israeli settlement continued without interruption, both in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and in the Gaza Strip. Those unlawful measures, which seriously undermined the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in occupied East Jerusalem, are a blatant violation of international law, of the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and of the great number of resolutions and decisions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly since 1947.

As members know, the latest outbreak of violence followed in the wake of the provocative visit to the forecourt of the holy site of Al-Haram Al-Sharif by the Israeli opposition leader Mr. Ariel Sharon, and of the brutal, disproportionate and indiscriminate way in which the Israeli defence forces and police responded to the protests the visit triggered among Palestinians. As we all know, the results have been tragic: 63 Palestinian appear to have been killed, and more than 1,500 injured. The victims include civilians and even innocent children, some as young as 12 years of age. These inhuman acts run counter to humanitarian law and to the letter and the spirit of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements and of subsequent implementation agreements. These actions could threaten the integrity of the peace negotiations at a time when these should be entering their most critical phase. They have struck a harsh blow to the credibility of the entire peace process, and thus threaten the peace and stability of the region.

These deplorable events have caused concern throughout the international community, beginning with the co-sponsors of the peace process, as well as the European Union, the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The Committee on the

Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People wishes to join them in calling upon the two parties to refrain from any further escalation of violence, and to spare no effort to defuse the tension once and for all. Moreover, the Committee joins with all in the international community who have called upon the Israeli Government and upon the Israeli political parties and security forces to take no further measures that could jeopardize the peace process. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People calls for respect for the holy places. The Committee calls for ensuring that the Palestinian population will be protected. The Committee calls for protection of the property of Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and for a halt to all activities that could cause the peace efforts to miscarry. The Committee appeals to the parties to proceed swiftly to full, good-faith implementation of the agreements that have already been concluded, with a view to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

The Committee remains convinced that only by speedy, joint progress along the path of the peace process, towards a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, will it be possible to stop the situation in the Middle East from deteriorating. Any exacerbation of the present tension could have unforeseeable consequences for peace and stability in the region — something no one could wish to see.

As we are all aware, there is no possible alternative to peace negotiations — the negotiations upon which the two parties embarked so courageously. Israeli leaders should recognize that peace and stability cannot be imposed unilaterally and by military means, but that peace and security must rest first and foremost on mutual respect and on the development of a partnership based on equity and mutual trust. There is no need to recall that Israeli policies and practices that deny the legitimate needs and aspirations of the Palestinian people can never be compatible with the peace process.

By convening this meeting, members of the Security Council have clearly shown that they have been deeply concerned at the deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and at the problems that threaten to derail the peace process. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People fervently hopes that this discussion will provide an opportunity for the Council to show its determination to find ways to prevent an escalation of the violence we have all been witnessing, and also to get the peace process back on track so that it can soon reach a successful conclusion.

The international community, and in particular the sponsors of the peace process, must assist the parties to make rapid progress along the path of negotiated peace, a path to which they committed themselves together to guarantee lasting peace in the region.

In conclusion, let me state once again that the Committee I represent believes that the United Nations should continue to exercise the primary, ongoing responsibility incumbent on it with respect to all aspects of the question of Palestine, including the problem of Jerusalem, until the question is settled in a satisfactory manner, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and international law, until finally all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are fully realized. The events that have brought us together today once again prove that the United Nations must continue to involve itself in the question of Palestine and in all the questions relating to peace and security in the Middle East.

The President: I thank the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) *(spoke in Arabic)*: Our delegation wishes at the outset to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month, for we are well aware of your experience and capabilities. We also wish to express our thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Moctar Ouane of the Republic of Mali, for his excellent efforts in steering the Council last month. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation to you and to all the members of the Council for convening this meeting, which affirms the Council's credibility in undertaking one of the most important tasks it has been entrusted with under the United Nations Charter: maintaining international peace and security.

Kuwait wishes to affirm that the massacres perpetrated by Ariel Sharon, with the blessings and support of the Israeli Government, against the Palestinian people and the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, are indeed blatant threats to international security, not to mention the fact that they are also blatant provocations of the feelings of the Arab nation and the Islamic world alike.

Our delegation finds it very difficult to describe our emotions when faced with the massacres and the tragedy to which children, youth and the elderly are being subjected in Palestine; massacres that continue through today, and in which more than one person has been killed and hundreds have been wounded, according to the media. We can never forget the images seen by the entire world of the martyrdom of the Palestinian child, Mohammed Al-Durra, and other Palestinian children who have fallen victim to the savage and barbaric acts of the Israeli occupying forces.

What makes it more painful to us, as human beings first of all, before being Muslims and Arabs, is the reaction of the United Nations, which recently declared at the Millennium Summit its commitment to spare no effort to protect the vulnerable, particularly the children — the generations of the future. Unfortunately, this leads us to pose many questions concerning the credibility of what has often been declared in this Organization and what has been implemented over a long period of time. I refer in particular, first, to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949; secondly, to the Security Council meetings on the protection of civilians during armed conflict, and particularly resolution 1261 (1999), adopted by the Security Council in this connection; thirdly, to the Secretary-General's report on children and armed conflict and his appointment of an international representative for this purpose; fourthly, to the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989; fifthly, to the results of the Millennium Summit — the ink of the Declaration is not yet dry; and, sixthly, to the special session of the General Assembly for follow-up to the World Summit for Children, to be held next year.

Bearing in mind all the above within the context of what we have been witnessing over the past few days — the tragedies and the deliberate murder of unarmed children — can we really convince our peoples today that the United Nations has the capacity to prevent the likes of Ariel Sharon if they decide to put an end to the innocence of childhood? Can the United Nations alleviate the suffering of every Palestinian child who has fallen victim to recent repressive Israeli practices? Our delegation will leave it up to the members of the Security Council to answer those questions.

The Government of the State of Kuwait, as represented by the Council of Ministers, has denounced those savage Israeli practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories and Al-Quds Al-Sharif resulting from the Israeli forces' resorting to extreme measures against civilians there. Kuwait has expressed its rejection and condemnation at all levels of Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the holy city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the desecration of holy Islamic shrines. Moreover, Kuwait considers these Israeli practices blatant violations of Security Council resolution 1261 (1999), which firmly condemned any operations directed against children in armed conflicts. They are also violations of the principles of international law, particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention.

It has become very clear to world public opinion how sensitive the issue of Al-Quds Al-Sharif is for us all. It has become clear that the Arab and Islamic peoples will never give up their rights to those holy shrines, particularly Al-Haram Al-Sharif, the third holiest Islamic site. In this respect, Kuwait reaffirms its position on the need to support the demands of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination and the right to establish their independent Palestinian State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

Establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the region must be based on the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and on the principle of land-for-peace and Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Arab Syrian Golan.

In conclusion, we call upon the Security Council to assume its responsibilities, end Israel's repressive practices against the innocent unarmed civilians of Palestine, condemn Israel's practices, ask it to withdraw its forces from Al-Haram Al-Sharif, and all Palestinian territories, and call for an international investigation of the crimes perpetrated against the Palestinian people, in particular the crimes committed against children. Moreover, the Council should hold

the Israeli Government fully responsible for all its actions.

Kuwait would like to express its appreciation for the efforts to establish peace and normalcy in the region made by the Governments of the United States of America and France, as well as those made by Egypt under the leadership of President Hosni Mubarak and his Government.

The President: I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to extend my sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I am certain that your experience and diplomatic skills will help us to deal with the sensitive, important and serious subject before us. Undoubtedly, your decision to convene this meeting stemmed from your deep understanding of the problem we currently face on the Palestinian front and its potential effects on the Middle East as a whole. We would also like to extend our sincere appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Mali, Ambassador Ouane, for his wisdom and excellent conduct of the work of the Council during his presidency in September.

The popular uprising currently raging in the occupied Palestinian territories is but an expression of the frustration and oppression suffered by the Palestinian people at the hands of Israel's tyranny, which has surpassed all limits. The most recent example of that tyranny was the provocative visit by Ariel Sharon, the leader of the Israeli opposition, to Al-Haram Al-Sharif. That visit was another attempt by Israel to assert its baseless claims over Al-Quds Al-Sharif, in complete disregard of all international resolutions and covenants, and in particular of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). It was not only a provocation to the sentiments of the Palestinian people, but also a provocation to the feelings of millions of Muslims around the world, and has aroused unprecedented risks. As we know, there are limits to people's patience. We believe that for the Palestinian people the situation has now surpassed the limits of patience.

We, together with the entire world, have followed the horrible images in the world press and television networks of the actions against unarmed civilians perpetrated by Israel's occupation forces, who are armed with all sorts of light and heavy weapons, including tanks and helicopters. One of the most atrocious crimes committed by those forces was the heart-wrenching and painful scene of 12-year-old Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra being killed in the arms of his father. In addition to being one of the most outrageous scenes we have seen, it was also a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

I would like, on behalf of the Government, the people and the Permanent Mission of Qatar, to extend our deepest sympathy and condolences to the families of all the victims. We pray to Almighty God to grant the victims a place among the martyrs at his side.

The aggressive actions against an unarmed people by the Israeli army, which was backed by groups of Jewish settlers and has violated all international customs and norms, represents a shameful stigma upon anyone who defends the Israeli position today. Those actions are further proof that Israel's Government continues to be held hostage to extremist factions within the Israeli population that completely disregard internationally binding resolutions. The international community is urged to act and to assume its responsibility towards the Palestinian people, whose land has been occupied and whose members have been expelled to every part of the world to suffer the fate of a permanent Diaspora as a direct result of Israel's ongoing rejection of their right to return to their homeland.

Together with the entire world, we await the outcome of the Paris talks that have brought together Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and United States Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. However, Qatar's view of the peace process in the Middle East is founded on realistic foundations and principles, regardless of the differing views about that situation. Achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace requires putting an end to Israel's occupation of all occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and enabling the Palestinian people to secure their legitimate national and political rights. Those rights include their right to return to their land, to enjoy self-determination

and to have an independent State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

The tragic events that are taking place in the occupied Palestinian territories should not be condoned or forgotten. People never forgive or forget. In this regard, we call on the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter and take the following actions.

First, it should intervene rapidly and call upon Israel to halt its excessive and aggressive hostilities and to withdraw its forces, which continue to kill innocent, unarmed Palestinian civilians, including children. Secondly, it should guarantee Palestinians total freedom to carry out their religious practices in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, free from harassment by Israeli forces. Thirdly, it should launch an international investigation of these tragic and outrageous events and call for the prosecution of those Israelis responsible for firing on Palestinian citizens, killing scores and wounding hundreds more. Fourthly, it should condemn the provocation caused by Ariel Sharon's visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif. Fifthly, it should condemn the actions of the occupying Israeli forces and call on them to comply with the norms and instruments of international law, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention. And sixthly, it should call for compensation to Palestinian civilians for the loss of life and material damage that they incurred as a result of those events. This is the least it can do to appease the outrage of the Arab peoples and to maintain the credibility of the Security Council in the eyes of the international community.

The President: I thank the representative of Qatar for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Bahrain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Buallay (Bahrain) *(spoke in Arabic)*: I have placed my statement in a black file as an expression of condolence and mourning for the Palestinian children who were martyred by the bullets of Israeli soldiers in the West Bank, in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and in the Gaza Strip. This is the least that I, as an Arab citizen, could do.

First of all, I should like, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to wish you every success. I should like also to express my appreciation to you for your speedy response to the request made by the United Nations Arab Group, the Islamic Group and the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement to convene this urgent and important meeting, in order to allow the Council to assume its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

The leader of the extremist Likud party, Ariel Sharon, whose hands are still stained with the blood of the martyrs of the Sabra and Shatila massacre, has desecrated the courtyard of Al-Haram Al-Sharif. That desecration was a blatant provocation and an attack on the feelings and emotions of Muslims, and it had the predictable results of triggering an uprising by the Palestinian people against this deliberate act of aggression.

The day before yesterday, an Israeli Government official declared that the Government did not approve of Sharon's conduct and believed that the visit had been a mistake. That official also said that the Palestinian reaction was an orchestrated scenario. We would like at this juncture to ask if it is reasonable to allege that the Palestinians wanted and planned a situation in which not dozens but hundreds of Palestinian children would die at the hands of the Israeli army — not the Israeli police — as a reprisal for throwing stones — stones thrown yesterday by children who have become men today.

Israeli bullets pierced the bodies of Palestinians, blowing them to bits. One can only imagine the physical suffering endured by those people, who were also attacked by tanks, armoured vehicles and snipers. Victims — men, women and children — fell before the Israeli army, which was armed to the teeth. Most of those present have seen the picture published on Sunday by *The New York Times*, a picture of a father and son, terror apparent on their faces. Seconds after the picture was taken, the son was killed and the father wounded trying to protect him.

The latest episode in this bloody chain of events, as reported in Arab newspapers, concerns a father who was helping to identify the bodies of murdered Palestinians. He was shocked to discover that one of the bodies was that of his son. He had been killed in an extremely savage manner. The newspaper reported that

"A rocket pierced Sami's thin, dark body and destroyed his chest and abdomen. He also had seven bullets in his torso. Sami was transferred to the hospital without an identity card. The news spread that an unidentified martyr was in the hospital, and the official Palestinian television station broadcast Sami's picture. However, his father and his sick mother, who was in the same hospital, did not know that their son had died in another part of that hospital."

In the face of these tragic events, we cannot but ask the survivors of the Holocaust if, following the ordeal they suffered, an Israeli generation exists that wants to retaliate — in a merciless, savage and barbaric manner — against people who were not responsible for their ordeal. What crime have the Palestinians committed that they should pay the price of mistakes made by others? Their nation was occupied, their lands confiscated, their citizens slaughtered in retaliation for a crime perpetrated by others. Where is the 1949 Geneva Convention? Where are Security Council resolutions 242 (1968) and 338 (1973), among the other resolutions adopted in accordance with international law concerning the rights of the Palestinian people? Israel rode roughshod over them, just as it disregarded the agreements concluded following the Oslo talks and the Madrid Conference. Israel wants only one peace: that which fulfils its desire — the desire not to withdraw from the occupied territories, let alone to give up the confiscated land on which it has built its settlements.

Is it possible on that basis for just peace talks — I stress the qualification, "just" — to have any chance of success? The Palestinians, supported by the Arabs, are advocates of peace. Provocation always comes from the Israeli side. The Israeli side must be fully convinced, on the basis of its experience, that surrendering is not in the vocabulary of the Palestinians or the Arabs. It has eloquent testimony of this fact in the stone-throwing children of the past who are the stone-throwing men of today. If Israel leans towards a comprehensive peace based on justice, with a provocation-free credibility, the Palestinians, supported by the Arabs, will be the first to go along with it.

The President: I thank the representative of Bahrain for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) *(spoke in Arabic)*: It is my pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that your efforts will be crowned with success. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to you for your swift response in convening this emergency meeting of the Security Council to discuss the crisis situation that resulted from the savage Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people in Al-Quds and the occupied Palestinian Arab territories.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Mr. Moctar Ouane for his efforts last month. I also extend my gratitude to all the representatives of Member States who supported the convening of this meeting, in particular, to my brother the Ambassador of Tunisia, who sent a message on behalf of the Arab Group, and my brother Ambassador Hasmy Agam of Malaysia, the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement caucus in the Security Council and of the Islamic Group.

There were six days of bloodshed before this meeting was convened — days that witnessed the martyrdom and wounding of many of our Palestinian brothers in Al-Quds and the occupied Palestinian territories, including the Palestinians who were within Israel in 1948. The number of those killed can now be counted in scores, and more than 2,000 have been wounded, according to today's information, many of whom will join the list of martyrs as a result of their serious wounds and because the hospitals can no longer absorb the victims of this Israeli massacre.

I listened with great attention to the statements of those who spoke yesterday afternoon and this afternoon. It is very clear that they all consider the provocative visit by the leader of the Likud Party to Al-Quds Al-Sharif to be directly responsible for triggering the bloodshed and the tragic events in Al-Quds and the Palestinian territories.

The visit by Mr. Sharon, leader of the extremist Likud Party, and the support of the Israeli Labour Government for his visit — he was accompanied by military forces that receive their instructions not from Mr. Sharon, but from the Israeli Government itself — reflect the clear and unequivocal responsibility of the

Israeli Government for the visit and the bloodshed, and confirm that there is coordination between Barak's Labour Government and his former rival in Likud, Mr. Sharon, in planning the events for internal Israeli reasons. The lives of innocent Palestinian citizens have been the fuel for this Israeli war, waged against the Palestinian people.

Sharon's past is well known to everyone. This was not the first time that he had committed such a barbarous act leading to massacres. Nor was it the first time that Israel perpetrated an act of aggression against the holy Arab and Islamic sites in Al-Quds. We all remember the attack on the Al-Aqsa Mosque, as well as the massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque and the person who perpetrated it, to whose memory a statue was erected. We all know about the tunnel that was dug under the Al-Aqsa Mosque at that time. Now, Israel has added yet another massacre to the long list of massacres perpetrated against the Arabs in the occupied territories.

The visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque by Sharon, who was surrounded by military and police forces, was a blatant provocation and an affront to the human dignity of our people, and could not but inflame their religious emotions. No sooner had the innocent worshippers denounced such racist behaviour than they were ruthlessly shot by the Israelis on the basis of prior orders that they had received in an attempt to bring the Palestinian people to their knees — a people who have refused to kneel and to give up.

We have all seen on television the use of aeroplanes, tanks, armour-piercing shells and anti-tank missiles directed at the heads and bodies of children who were killed in cold blood, not to mention the unjustified destruction of their homes and property. We have all seen and wept at the tragic events and the deliberate killing of children, the killing of the child mentioned by the Ambassador of Bahrain, the child who was in his father's arms, who was pleading for the Israeli snipers not to kill him. His father is being treated at the moment for the wounds that he received and is calling upon the world to avenge the killing of his child. And yet another child was killed by Israeli snipers as he was climbing on one of the buildings, as was another child, a girl aged two. The Israeli forces also killed the driver of the ambulance carrying the child, Mohammed Al-Durra. They are attacking the ambulances constantly not to mention the continuous killing.

The visit of Sharon and its very serious consequences raise a question. Why are the Israelis challenging the religious and national feelings of the Palestinians with the support of the Israeli Government? What can we conclude from this openly waged war — a war that is still claiming until this very moment more martyrs from amongst the Palestinians who are defending themselves with stones when faced with live ammunition and missiles? Everything seems to indicate that the Israeli Government most probably planned this massacre, particularly if we bear in mind the following facts.

First, in the course of the last two months the Israeli Government has provided the settlers with state-of-the-art lethal weapons so that they might contribute to the current massacre. That is what we see on television screens.

Secondly, the Israeli Government told its forces that were deployed all over Al-Quds and all over the West Bank to use live ammunition in addition to all kinds of other weapons to face children, the children we have been talking about, to face Palestinian youths defending themselves with blood and stones. Is a stone equal to a missile to live lethal ammunition?

Thirdly, the Israeli forces are committing collective, deliberate murder in operations that are no less horrible than "ethnic cleansing". They do so against all Palestinians, including the Palestinians of the interior who have been in Israel since 1948. All those acts are aimed at terrorizing and humiliating the Palestinians, at putting an end to Palestinian rights and at facilitating Israel's takeover of Al-Quds.

Fourthly, this massacre all over the Arab territories confirms once more that Israel is not interested in peace even though the Arabs have accepted peace. It shows once again that the peace process is going through one of its most difficult and complicated crises.

This raises another important question. Is Israel really willing to achieve a comprehensive and just peace? And where does the Security Council stand in the face of Israel's refusal to implement its resolutions, most important of which are resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), apart from other resolutions which by now form quite a volume.

Fifthly, the blood of the martyrs of Palestinian children, youths, women and old people, and the anger

of the Palestinian streets, the anger in Damascus and Baghdad, in Oman, in Cairo, in Lebanon — everywhere — are all irrefutable proof that the Arab Palestinian people will never give up their legitimate national rights, nor their sacred and holy shrines. The Palestinian people will safeguard their identity and their nation. Israel's attempts to take over Al-Quds in its entirety and to invent a new Al-Quds outside the city will face Palestinian resistance defending its legitimate rights and their holy sites with blood and stones.

Sixthly, Israeli aggression and crimes, particularly the visit of Sharon to Al-Haram Al-Sharif, triggered religious feelings and anger all over the world. It has been denounced and condemned by the Arab States, the Islamic States and many other countries, including States friendly to Israel.

The events seem to confirm the fact that Al-Quds is indeed the basic issue, the symbol for all Arabs and Muslims and Christians, and it would seem that the destiny of the people of Al-Quds is to stand up to Israeli plots that aim at Judaizing Jerusalem and usurping its Arab identity.

The Syrian Arab Republic, which has always supported the Palestinian struggle, denounces and firmly condemns the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people and the horrible massacres perpetrated by Israel against our Palestinian brothers in Al-Quds and in the occupied territories, and against the Arabs of 1948 who hastened to support their brothers and to defend Al-Quds and the holy shrines and their Arab identity and dignity.

Syria expresses its heartfelt condolences to the brotherly Palestinian people as a whole and to the families of the martyrs who have died in defence of their legitimate rights.

The aggression of the occupying Israeli forces — aggression that continues even now — killing unarmed Palestinians, using live ammunition aimed at their heads and at their hearts, killing them in cold blood, destroying their properties — demonstrates that Israel is committing a blatant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is applicable to all the Arab Palestinian occupied territories, including Al-Quds. Moreover, such acts are a blatant violation of the Charter, the principles of international law and international humanitarian law.

I reaffirm that Israel is proving day after day that it is not interested in peace, contrary to what its leaders say.

If Israel wants real peace, why is it prevaricating in the peace negotiations? Why is it not implementing the resolutions of international legitimacy, particularly Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)? Why is it continuing to occupy Arab territories? Why does it not accept the return of Al-Quds to the Palestinian people? Why is it continuing its expansionist policies and settlements at the expense of the occupied Arab territories? And why is it attempting to impose conditions on some Arab parties?

Peace is still absent. The peace process is going through a very difficult phase because of the Israeli Government's obdurate and intransigent attitude and its non-recognition of the need to withdraw to the line of 4 June 1967, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We should all be aware that peace has to be just and comprehensive or else there is no need for it. Peace will not become a reality unless Israel implements the resolutions of international legitimacy, the Madrid principles and references and resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as the principle of land for peace. This will not happen until Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories, including the occupied Syrian Golan to the line of 4 June 1967.

Syria has shown its sincerity and credibility in calling for a comprehensive and just peace. Our position has always been clear concerning our rights and has been accepted by the entire world. Syria believed in the true wish of the co-sponsor of the peace process and in President Clinton's and Mrs. Albright's efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace. Unfortunately, the signs we see before our very eyes, particularly what has taken place in the past few days, give us an idea of what could happen in the occupied Syrian Golan, particularly because Israeli policy since 1991 has been vague about the different tracks of the peace process. There has been a deliberate distortion of Syria's clear position concerning peace. In the light of those facts, we call on the Security Council to take the following steps.

First, the Council should put an immediate end to the Israeli aggression, ensure the withdrawal of the Israeli forces to their bases and put a stop to their aggression against the unarmed Palestinian people.

Secondly, the Council should assume its responsibilities for safeguarding international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter, and not apply different yardsticks or double standards. It should condemn aggression and the horrible crimes perpetrated by Israel, the occupying force in the occupied Palestinian territories and the Arab occupied territories. It should call for Israel to respect the Charter, all United Nations resolutions, international law and humanitarian international law. It should ask Israel to fully the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Thirdly, the Council should once again reaffirm that Al-Quds is an integral part of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. International law and humanitarian international law are applicable to Al-Quds, as well as to all the occupied Arab territories.

Fourthly, the international community should clearly recognize that the visit by Sharon to Al-Quds Al-Sharif was deliberate and was planned to provoke the national and religious feelings of Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims and Christians alike. The Security Council is called upon to clearly condemn Sharon's provocative visit and to condemn the Israeli Government for protecting it, which indicates an alliance between the Israeli Government and the Likud Party against the Palestinian cause, Al-Quds and Palestinian sovereignty over Al-Quds.

Fifthly, this horrible massacre, which has involved the killing of children, puts the credibility of the Security Council to the test. The Council cannot remain silent, unable to adopt a resolution necessary to put an end to Israeli aggression against the Arab inhabitants in the occupied Arab territories. The time has come to try the Israeli authorities responsible for such crimes. All rights of the Palestinian people have to be preserved and safeguarded, particularly their right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent State on their territory with Al-Quds as its capital and the full exercise of inalienable Palestinian sovereignty over Al-Quds.

Sixthly, the Council, and its permanent members in particular, should bring pressure to bear on Israel to pursue the peace process seriously, bearing in mind that no security can be achieved without a just and comprehensive peace ensuring respect for the dignity of all. Peace cannot be achieved through words; peace can be achieved only through sincere efforts aimed at implementing United Nations resolutions.

In conclusion, allow me to point out that danger and tension reside in Israel's continued defiance of the international community and international legitimacy and its rejection of the basis of a just and comprehensive peace. International legitimacy cannot continue to apply double standards, when it concerns Israel.

The President: I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nejad Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran): Mr. President, thank you for convening this important meeting of the Security Council at this critical time for the Palestinian people. We have full confidence in your leadership and in your efforts to steer the deliberations of the Council in the month of October.

Since last Thursday, the Zionist forces in the occupied territories have reacted excessively and disproportionately to the justified protests that followed a flagrant act of provocation committed by the criminals of Sabra and Shatila and spread promptly across the whole occupied territory. In recent days, the whole area has been the scene of the killing of dozens and the injury of hundreds of defenceless Palestinian civilians.

The provocative act — committed last Thursday by one faction of the occupying regime, facilitated by the other and followed by the indiscriminate killing of Palestinians — negates the Israeli pretence of entertaining peaceful intentions or a desire for pacific coexistence with the Muslims and Christians of the region. This recent crime represents another attempt by the Zionists to desecrate the Islamic holy site and ultimately to destroy the Islamic nature of Beit al-Maqdis. It followed two previous attempts: one in 1969, to burn down the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque and the other, in 1996, to dig tunnels underneath its blessed soil. In so doing, they insulted the religious feelings of more than 1 billion Muslims worldwide and initiated a new wave of crime in occupied Palestine.

The recent crime committed by the Israeli armed forces is consistent with the aggressive and

expansionist policies of Israel. It aims, in vain, at gaining international recognition of its claim to sovereignty over the holy Islamic sites. The Zionist regime' s repeated crimes and heavy-handed approach run counter to all its high-sounding and empty claims that it seeks peace. This regime is the main cause behind the tension and instability in the region. While deceitfully negotiating peace with the Palestinians, it violently assaults the oppressed and defenceless people of the occupied territories.

The events in the occupied territories are another illustration of the perennial unequal war of stone versus heavy weapons; Palestinian struggle versus Israeli aggression; and sacrifice for freedom and liberation versus arrogant oppression and occupation. This unequal war is unlikely to cease. If history is any lesson, oppression, aggression and heavy-handedness cannot last forever and the Palestinians will eventually gain control over their destiny.

The fundamental question for the international community, and particularly the Security Council and the Middle East peace brokers, is the amount of Palestinian blood, life, homelessness and agony we can justify before the occupiers and aggressors are tamed and the fundamental right of the Palestinians to self-determination in their own land is realized.

The international community in general and the Islamic world in particular are deeply concerned about the ongoing atrocities committed by Israeli troops. The incidents in recent days, partly captured on camera and viewed across the world, illustrate the contempt in which world public opinion is held by the Israeli regime. The disdain of the Israeli leaders for the principles of international law and the decisions of the United Nations is no secret to anyone in this Chamber. It is commonly acknowledged, deplored and condemned, but very little, if anything, is done about it.

Undoubtedly, this latest act by Israel is likely to further exacerbate the Middle East crisis unless the international community and the United Nations intervene immediately to stop the Israeli armed forces' brutal campaign against the civilians. In this respect, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Eighth Summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), called for an emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the States members of the OIC to consider the issue.

There is no doubt that the Security Council in particular is expected to act resolutely with a view to putting an end to the violations by the occupying Power of the Fourth Geneva Convention and to paving the way for bringing those responsible to justice. The first step in this direction is explicit condemnation of the excessive use of force by the Israeli armed forces against defenceless civilians.

Several times in the past, the Security Council has been called upon to shoulder its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security by putting an end to the inhuman and aggressive acts of the Israeli regime. Regrettably, however, the exercise or threat of exercise of the veto has so far prevented the Council from discharging its constitutional responsibility in such a crucial issue and has thus raised profound international disappointment. Undoubtedly, the inaction of the Security Council emboldens Israel to defy the wishes of the international community, reflected in, among other things, numerous General Assembly resolutions.

The President: I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Shobokshi (Saudi Arabia) (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to join earlier speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that, with your skills and sagacity, you will steer the deliberations of the Council to the desired results.

I should like to thank you and the members of the Council for your speedy response in convening this meeting to discuss the grave situation in occupied Palestine. It testifies to your determination to discharge your responsibilities seriously and firmly.

I also extend my thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Moctar Ouane of Mali, who guided the Security Council last month with his well-known wisdom, knowledge and expertise.

The international community has followed with great pain and anger the abhorrent massacre committed by the Israeli occupation forces in the forecourt of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and in other parts of occupied Palestine. In this massacre, dozens of

martyrs were killed and hundreds of defenceless, innocent Palestinian civilians — young people, the elderly, children, men and women — were wounded. Their feelings were provoked and their anger was fanned by the visit to the Al-Haram Al-Sharif forecourt by the extremist leader of the Likud Party, Ariel Sharon, whose bloody past is well known from the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

We were all moved watching the heartbreaking scene of an innocent Palestinian child being killed in the arms of his father, killed by the bullets of the occupation forces. His father was seriously injured while trying to protect his son. This scene is a most eloquent expression of the tragedy that the Palestinian people are living through in their occupied land. The scene stirs the hearts and awakens the consciences of those who have been ignoring the need for justice. May it also serve as a reminder to the international community, as represented by this Council, of the need to find a comprehensive and just solution to the ordeal of the Palestinian people, of the need to enable the Palestinian people to regain their legitimate rights and to choose their own destiny.

Instead of fulfilling its obligations and duties, instead of assuming its responsibility for the maintenance of security, and instead of preventing Ariel Sharon from violating the sanctity of the Islamic Holy sites and provoking the believers, the Israeli Government — while fully cognizant of the aims and goals of Sharon's visit and of the extent of his defiance of the feelings of Muslims, and while also cognizant of the ramifications of his visits for the situation in occupied Palestine and for the peace process — instead of responding appropriately took to killing defenceless civilians and bombarding Palestinians with rockets and laying siege to their towns with tanks, guns and helicopters. Perhaps — with a view to imposing a fait accompli and establishing Al-Quds Al-Sharif as Jewish — the Israeli Government's inhumane action was intended to continue the process that Sharon had started by desecrating the Islamic holy site and intimidating the Palestinians who defended their sacred sites and defended their dignity.

The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia condemns Israel's brutal aggression against Palestinian citizens in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and in the occupied Palestinian territory. It believes that during the recent events, Israel, by persisting in its policy of using all kinds of weapons against unarmed citizens, has breached the most basic principles and international norms; it has defied the feelings of the Palestinians and of the Arab nation and the Islamic world; and it has breached the inviolability of the Islamic holy sites. The Israeli actions are a departure from the principles of peace and the agreements in international law that aim at restoring peace to the region. The barbaric Israeli practices witnessed by the world call attention to Israel's unwillingness to restore just peace and to Israel's persistence in the creation of obstacles and in resorting to violence against an unarmed people, defying all international instruments and conventions.

The Arabs have stressed on more than one occasion that peace is their strategic choice. The Arabs have demonstrated that they are willing to establish a just and comprehensive peace on the basis of international law, of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and of the principle of land for peace. It is obvious that any desired just peace would require Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories — including Palestine and, above all, Al-Quds Al-Sharif, as well as from the Syrian Golan and the remaining parts of southern Lebanon and the western Bekaa valley.

No proof or evidence is needed to establish the Arab character of Al-Quds. Al-Quds Al-Sharif is part and parcel of the occupied Palestinian territories covered under international law, as are all the occupied territories. Al-Quds is also covered by Security Council resolution 242 (1967), since it is a Palestinian area that was occupied in June 1967.

We call on the Security Council to fulfil its obligations and shoulder its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. We call on it to take all necessary measures to guarantee the protection of the Palestinian people against being killed or uprooted and the protection of the Islamic holy sites against further Israeli violations. We call on the Security Council to reiterate the importance of the implementation of its resolutions and of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the protection of civilians in occupied territories. In many of its relevant resolutions the Security Council has stressed that this Convention does indeed apply to all the Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds.

We welcome the Paris and Cairo meetings. We express the hope they will rectify the situation and put an end to the bloodshed and the acts of violence and

encourage the parties to return to the peace negotiations with a genuine desire and serious determination to achieve a comprehensive and just peace.

However, those responsible for the despicable events must be held accountable and investigated. The provocative visit by the Israeli opposition leader must be publicly condemned. We have to work seriously to avoid the recurrence of such an action. And we must also compensate both those Palestinians who have been harmed by the Israeli acts of suppression and terrorism and their families.

The President: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dausá Céspedes (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): First, I would like to say that my delegation is glad to see you, Sir, presiding over the meetings of the Security Council for the month of October. We also congratulate Ambassador Ouane of Mali on the skill he displayed in conducting the Council's work in September.

Once again humankind is witnessing how the forces opposed to a peaceful, just and lasting solution in the Middle East try to replace peace and negotiation with violence and aggression.

Once again the world has been astounded to see how the actions of the Israeli forces have taken precious lives among the Palestinian civilian population. We watch with great frustration the cruel repression unleashed with the consent of the Government of Israel and the indiscriminate use of heavy weaponry and helicopter gunships against the defenceless civilian population and Palestinian facilities. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the deceased.

This brutal provocation takes place at a time when negotiations between the Israeli Government and the Palestinian National Authority seemed to be resuming in pursuit of the longed for and necessary peace, and when through a number of peace initiatives the utmost was being done to get the negotiating process back on track.

Cuba vigorously condemns the provocations and barbaric acts committed against the Palestinian people. We demand an immediate end to the repression and acts of force, since their continuation would lead only to an extremely dangerous escalation of violence in the already very sensitive situation prevailing in Palestine, with unforeseeable regional and global repercussions.

The Security Council, through 25 different resolutions adopted over all these years, has confirmed its recognition of the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories, including Jerusalem. The Israeli actions have once again breached those resolutions and many others adopted by the General Assembly and the Council itself. International law, the United Nations Charter and international humanitarian law have been repeatedly trampled upon.

The international community would have expected more determined and effective action by the Security Council. When the long list of speakers is finished, this meeting will leave many of those present feeling unsatisfied.

Once again events have clearly proved that the Security Council fails to fulfil its responsibility to maintain international peace and security whenever there is interference from the hegemonic and domestic policy interests of one permanent member that arbitrarily and irresponsibly uses its powers and prerogatives.

Cuba reaffirms its full and unswerving solidarity with the Palestinian people in its just struggle to establish an independent and sovereign State, with Jerusalem as its capital, and to have all Arab occupied territories returned. We call upon the international community to strongly condemn the crimes and the delaying tactics used by Israel during all these years in order to impose its arrogant annexationist policy, which violates the most elementary norms of coexistence and international law.

My delegation welcomes with interest and hope the meetings in Paris and Cairo, but reiterates that a just and lasting solution will not be found for the Middle East conflict unless it is based on strict compliance with the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and particularly Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

If today we are unable to take effective actions that could reopen the path to peace and impede the return of provocation and violence of those sectors in Israel that are opposed to a peaceful solution to the conflict, we will only be paving the way for a new crisis.

The people of Palestine need, today more than ever, the support of the international community, and Cuba will not fail them.

The President: I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Yemen. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Ashtal (Yemen) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is my pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also congratulate the Ambassador of Mali, your predecessor, on presiding over the Council last month. May I furthermore express our sincere thanks to you, Sir, for convening this meeting, which returns to the questions of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the occupied Arab territories in the Security Council once again. Whatever efforts are made to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute outside the United Nations, the resolutions of the Security Council remain the only international legitimacy that must not be violated.

Israel's challenge to the Security Council, through a law annexing Jerusalem, Al-Quds, planted the seeds of the violence raging today. The provocative visit by Ariel Sharon to Al-Haram Al-Sharif was directly responsible for the eruption of violence. However, the acts of war waged by Israeli forces against defenceless Palestinians, including children, have gone beyond anything imaginable. More than 50 Palestinians have been slain through the use by the Israeli forces of live ammunition, heavy weaponry and helicopters. This is undoubtedly a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

In this regard, Mr. Abdul-Qader Ba-Jammal, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Republic of Yemen, has declared:

> "The Government of Yemen has followed with deep concern the bloody confrontations in the courtyard of Al-Aqsa Al-Sharif following the provocative visit by Ariel Sharon to the site with the objective of exploding the situation in the occupied territories and preventing the continuation of the peace process as well as the implementation of all international resolutions obligating Israel to withdraw from all Arab occupied territories."

The Government of Yemen believes that the reluctance shown by the Barak Administration and its continuous reneging on its obligations was the reason for the aggressive behaviour by the Israeli extremist right and these acts of provocation and aggression vis-à-vis the Palestinian people and Islamic shrines. The Republic of Yemen, while roundly condemning the barbaric massacre by the Israeli armed forces, places squarely on the shoulders of Israel and the Barak Administration the responsibility for the deteriorating situation and the escalating feelings of frustration and despair among the Palestinian people. We call on the Security Council to put an end to the aggressive military acts by Israel. We call on the Security Council to reaffirm the need for a comprehensive solution, including a solution to the status of the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif.

Finally, despite the seriousness of these most regrettable events, we must continue to make efforts for peace. We must strive towards a just, comprehensive and durable peace, a peace that takes into consideration the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and promotes peace and security, both regionally and internationally.

The President: I thank the representative of Yemen for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sharma (India): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for October. We also extend our congratulations to the Permanent Representative of Mali, Ambassador Moctar Ouane, for his splendid stewardship of the Council in its eventful last month. Let me also thank you, Sir, for calling this meeting and giving us the opportunity to speak on this very important issue.

The Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement made a statement yesterday on behalf of the Movement, with which we associate ourselves. As we are deeply concerned at the recent developments, we thought it

necessary also to share our sentiments with the Council. As many delegations have spoken yesterday and today, and as many more are to speak, I shall keep my statement short.

My Government is deeply concerned at the recent incidents of violence in Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and in other parts of the Palestinian National Authority areas and Israel. This has led to a most regrettable loss of life and property. It has also vitiated the atmosphere for the Middle East peace process. Issues involved in the Middle East peace process are of immense complexity. That is why the overriding need now is for restraint, avoidance of provocation and shunning all acts that could destabilize the process.

We have noted with increasing concern that the cessation of hostilities between the Palestinians and the Israelis was short-lived, and we hope that efforts to stop the violence will be redoubled, thus facilitating an early conclusion of the peace process. We remain convinced of the need for dialogue and peaceful negotiation to find a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of all issues. We support the endeavours of the international community towards that objective.

There had been considerable progress in the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Recent events should not be allowed to retard or delay the peace process, for which the leadership of Palestine and of Israel has striven so hard. We believe that, given the required will and determination, and given a commitment to settle disputes peacefully, no odds are insurmountable, no goal too far. Violence has to be abjured. Diplomacy and statesmanship have to triumph. There is no alternative and no other way towards lasting peace.

The President: I thank the representative of India for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Iraq. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hasan (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We hail your wisdom and your determination, which have enabled States Members of the United Nations to state their views at this open meeting on a most important item that goes to the very core of the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council is meeting today to discuss the repression and aggression to which the Palestinian people are subjected not only in the territories occupied in 1967 but also in those occupied in 1948. That repression and aggression are blatant violations of international law, of international humanitarian law and of the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

The desecration by the perpetrator of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, the terrorist Ariel Sharon, of the holy Al-Haram Al-Sharif on 28 September 2000, and the subsequent use by the Zionist occupation forces of their military machine, including tanks, helicopters and missiles, against Palestinian civilians in order to suppress Palestinian anger, have thus far caused the death of more than 60 martyrs, among them the child Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra — whose name means "pearl", and who is indeed a pearl among martyrs — and they have caused the wounding of more than 2,000 others. This proves the aggressive nature of the Zionist entity and presents the international community and the United Nations with a genuine challenge. Can the international community, this time, defend what is right? Can it avenge those who have suffered and punish those who have wronged them?

Some previous speakers have expressed the hope that the Security Council would adopt the measures necessary to put an end to the injustice inflicted upon the Palestinians by the forces of occupation and that the Council would hold the criminals responsible. Unfortunately, the facts would suggest that those speakers will be disappointed; such action will be impossible because of the balance of power that has obtained in the Security Council ever since its establishment, and because the dominant Power in the Council — the United States of America — extends all possible support and protection to that iniquitous entity, Israel, and provides it with all means of destruction, including nuclear weapons. It also gives its blessing to that entity's aggression against Arab States. That unlimited support to Israel began with its establishment 52 years ago, and it will continue so long as the Security Council reflects the interests of the Power that dominates and controls it.

We say this not to discourage honourable members of the Council or to discourage other States Members of the United Nations which, in their statements yesterday and today, have expressed their very strong commitment to the principles of the Charter and their

genuine wish to put an end to the injustice inflicted upon the Palestinians and to the Arab nation. To the contrary, the present situation should provide an additional incentive to them all to study the core of the matter and seriously to seek radical solutions that would restore the rights of those who rightfully possess them.

The problem is not how we can push the Palestinians into unequal negotiations with the forces of occupation, forces which will certainly not restore their rights to them. What is needed is to study the core of the problem in order to find the appropriate solutions. The problem started in 1917, when a Briton named Balfour promised another Briton named Rothschild the establishment in Palestine of a national homeland for Rothschild and for other extremists like him. The problem is the military occupation of the Palestinian territory and the flow of adventurers into that land from Europe and the rest of the world under the pretext that it is a land without a people. The problem is the repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by that usurping entity against the Arab States and its occupation of the Arab territories, including the occupied Arab Golan. The problem resides in the tragedy of a people under occupation against whom all forms of repression are being practised. The problem is the suffering of more than 4 million Palestinian refugees who were pushed out of their land and who look back upon it as their homeland; they have the full right to return to it. The problem is in the Zionist creed — a racist, expansionist, arrogant and hateful creed. The problem resides in the threat to the sites held sacred by a billion Muslims and a billion Christians.

Palestine is part of the Arab nation, one of the oldest and noblest nations a nation on whose land religions and cultures have coexisted and which has given birth to one of the oldest and most noble civilizations in history. It is a nation that has a tremendous capacity to face challenges and greed, and to prevail over invaders, such as the Zionist entity, as it did once against the Moguls and the Crusaders. We expect the international community to stand by that nation in its just battle.

The President: I thank the representative of Iraq for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Mauritania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ould Deddach (Mauritania) (*spoke in Arabic*): I wish at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for your response to the call to convene this urgent important meeting following the grave events witnessed in the occupied Palestinian territories, which have led to the death of 60 Palestinians and more than 2,000 wounded. The Government and people of Mauritania wish to express their full solidarity with the Palestinian people. We bow before the martyrs who fell defending the legitimate rights of the Palestinian peoples, Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the Islamic and Arab ummah.

We wish to express our thorough condemnation of the events we have witnessed — the premeditated firing upon defenceless civilians and the use of cannon, helicopter gunships, tanks, missiles, and live ammunition, a clear violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. We call on the United Nations to condemn these acts and to investigate in order to arrest and prosecute the perpetrators.

You are aware, undoubtedly, Mr. President, that these grave events are an obstacle to achieving peace in this region, a region in dire need of peace. On behalf of my delegation, I reaffirm our support for the peace process. We believe that a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region can be achieved only through the Madrid terms of reference, the principle of land for peace and the full implementation of Security Council resolutions, thus ensuring full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian territories and reclaiming the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, primarily their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

These grave events may well finally drive the last nail into the coffin of peace in the Middle East. Today, more than ever, the international community must intensify its efforts to overcome obstacles to just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region.

The President: I thank the representative of Mauritania for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. Hussein Hassouna, Permanent Observer for the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the

Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hassouna (League of Arab States) (*spoke in Arabic*): I wish at the outset to extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Allow me also to express my sincere appreciation for your speedy response to the request to convene this open Security Council meeting on a matter of great importance, not only to the Arab, Islamic and Christian world, but to all members of the international community at large.

The Security Council is meeting today at the request of the Arab Group at the United Nations, with a view to considering the Israeli assault on Al-Haram Al-Sharif in occupied East Jerusalem and the Israeli campaign of repression against Palestinian civilians in all the occupied Palestinian territories.

Security Council members and others who have spoken here during the past two days unanimously believe that the bloody events in occupied East Jerusalem and the other occupied Palestinian territories, even within Israel itself, were ignited because the extremist leader of the Likud Party, Ariel Sharon, supported, regrettably, by the Israeli Government, violated the sacred character of the Al-Haram Al-Sharif plaza. This violation has clearly roused Palestinian feelings and the feelings of all parties in the Islamic and Christian worlds, because the circumstances have affirmed Israel's arrogant disregard for the sanctity and dignity of those sites for the sake of achieving vested political interests and goals.

Moreover, there is an international consensus that the large and growing number of Palestinian victims — be they men, women or children — is due to the excessive use of force by the Israeli forces and their aiming of their most sophisticated and lethal firepower at the torsos of those civilian martyrs. This information comes from the testimonies of human rights organizations and other impartial groups, such as Amnesty International and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Allow me to take this opportunity to extend our heartfelt condolences to the families of the innocent victims.

The League of Arab States was the first international organization to view these grave events with concern and seriousness. The Council of the League of Arab States has been discussing these painful developments since they began. It took up the matter at an emergency session on 1 October 2000. It has laid full responsibility at Israel's door for the eruption of recent events, and has called upon the international community to pressure Israel to withdraw its forces from around Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the flashpoints around Palestinian towns. It has also called for an international investigation into Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people and for the prosecution before an international criminal court of Israelis responsible for those crimes. Furthermore, the Council of the League of Arab States has called upon the Security Council, and on its permanent members in particular, to fully assume their responsibility for the maintenance of peace and for the protection of the Palestinian people by implementing internationally and legally binding resolutions and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

At a time when humanity has just taken its first steps into the new century that ushers in the third millennium; at a time when humanity aspires to wipe from the world's face the tears shed during the last century; and at a time when humanity is trying to inspire itself with wishes and desires to make serious attempts to ensure peace for all, we find that Israel's aggressive forces — which hate peace — are determined to follow a path that goes against the path of peace that the countries of the world aspire to follow. Our Arab States have indeed chosen peace as a strategic choice. The massacre at the Al-Aqsa Mosque, in which the blood of unarmed civilians was shed and the wishes of humanity at large for peace were scuttled, is an eloquent testimony to Israel's violation of all international instruments on human rights and the protection of civilians and children, in whose drafting and ratification we all participated and that we committed ourselves to respect. It is altogether unacceptable to allow Israeli violations to pass without measures of deterrence and punishment.

We are fully aware of the gravity of the situation. The League of Arab States therefore calls upon the Security Council immediately to intervene in fulfilment of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We call upon it to intensify its efforts to put an end to Israeli aggression, to provide protection for the Palestinian people, to take every necessary measure to force Israel to end its

unfounded, unjustified and provocative violations and to have that country fully withdraw its forces from the area around Al-Haram Al-Sharif and all occupied Palestinian towns, in implementation of internationally binding resolutions.

Those resolutions all affirm that East Jerusalem is an integral part of occupied Palestinian territories, to which Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and all provisions of international law on occupied territories apply. If the United Nations is truly interested in promoting respect for the rules of international justice, if it cares about the rule of law, and if it wishes to implement the principle that places all States on an equal footing and calls on them all without exception to implement fully the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and other provisions of this Organization, then the League of Arab States maintains that it is high time to force Israel to implement United Nations resolutions, which are legally binding on all States.

I refer in particular to the resolutions of the Security Council dealing with Al-Quds, Israeli settlements, the withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, and respect for the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. In our view, if these international resolutions had been implemented by Israel in the first place, the United Nations would not be facing this explosive situation in the Middle East and we would not be witnessing today the collapse of all efforts made to establish a lasting peace in the region.

In conclusion, the League of Arab States expresses the hope that the ongoing worthy efforts aimed at salvaging the peace process will succeed. We would stress, however, that when the Arab nation opted for comprehensive and just peace in accordance with the internationally binding resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land for peace, it did so because we believed that Israel would in turn commit itself to withdrawing its forces from all occupied Arab territories and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

The President: I thank Ambassador Hassouna, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States, for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Pamir (Turkey): I would like to join my colleagues in extending to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October.

Turkey deplores the recent acts of violence at Al-Haram Al-Sharif, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, as well as in other Palestinian areas, which, as a result of the use of excessive force, have led to the killing of more than 50 innocent civilians and the injuring of over 1,500. We would like to extend to the bereaved families of the victims our heartfelt condolences and profound sympathy.

During the period preceding the regrettable developments, tension in the region had mounted as a consequence of the difficult phase in which the peace process found itself. That tension should not have been exacerbated by blatant provocative actions. Unfortunately, the events we have seen did precisely that, fanning the die-hard dynamics of confrontation. Nothing can justify the loss of innocent lives, no matter how charged the atmosphere.

We think that it is time now for de-escalation. We call on both parties to restore calm through the exercise of utmost restraint.

We believe that the withdrawal of Israeli security forces would constitute a first step towards normalizing the situation on the ground.

A transparent and impartial investigation, with the involvement of both Israel and Palestine, into the causes of the recent upheaval should be undertaken as soon as possible. It is of the utmost importance that due procedures should be initiated against the perpetrators of these criminal acts, so that the bereaved families can find solace.

Turkey continues to follow the developments in the region, in close contact with the parties. The Turkish Government has also expressed its outrage and concern in the face of the escalating violence through its direct contacts with President Arafat and Israeli Acting Foreign Minister Ben-Ami. Furthermore, in response to the request for emergency humanitarian assistance made by the Palestinian side, my

Government has decided to contribute $500,000 as well as medical supplies and medicine. It is incumbent upon all of us to alleviate the plight of those who have fallen victim to this senseless violence.

Turkey maintains its hope that these events, however excruciating, will not deflect the parties from their principal course, the Middle East peace process. We, as members of the international community, should assume our responsibility to help revive this process. We continue to believe that a lasting settlement will be the best answer to provocateurs of all sorts.

The President: I thank the representative of Turkey for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are a number of speakers remaining on my list. In view of the lateness of the hour, and with the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 6.05 p.m.

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4204th meeting

Thursday, 5 October 2000, 3 p.m.
New York

President	Mr. Andjaba	(Namibia)
Members	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Netherlands	Mr. van Walsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/928)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/929)

Identical letters dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/930)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/934)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/935)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-67648 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.20 p.m., 5 October 2000.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Malta and Spain in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Balzan (Malta) and Mr. Arias (Spain) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 5 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Togo to the United Nations, which will be issued as document S/2000/958, and which reads as follows:

> "On behalf of the Organization of African Unity, I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Amadou Kebe, Permanent Observer of the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations, to address the Council under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure during the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question'."

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Kébé.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Babaa (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Permit me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish to express my gratitude to Ambassador Ouane of Mali for his skill and experience in conducting the Council's work during the past eventful month.

You, Sir, come from a country that suffered greatly under colonialism, occupation, settlement-building, racism and trusteeship. Your country fought for its independence, freedom and dignity and you are therefore in the best position to appreciate the reality of the issue before us today. We are confident that, guided by your experience and wisdom, the proceedings and work of the Council this month will be crowned with success.

The occupation of Palestine by settlers from all over the world is a problem that has been before the United Nations since its inception. All organs of the United Nations have addressed this question, particularly the Security Council, without reaching a drastic solution thereto because the principal cause of the problem — the uprooting of an entire people and its exile, displacement and loss — has been ignored. Moreover, those who remained behind have been subject to the most horrendous practices — including imprisonment, torture, murder, the destruction of their homes, collective punishment and the confiscation of their land — and to daily offences by the Zionist occupation authorities and racist settlers aimed at forcing them to follow in the footsteps of their forebears.

The emerging revolution of that people demonstrates to those who would deny the existence of the Palestinian people that it is a living and extant people. It continues to struggle and fight, even with stones, for its survival and a dignified, free life and to maintain its rights over its land, on which it has lived for thousands of years and from which the Zionist settlers are trying to uproot it.

In recent days, the entire world has watched on television the images of dozens of defenceless youngsters and children being killed in cold blood and hundreds being wounded by the bullets of snipers, grenades, cluster bombs, tank shells and helicopter rockets. The killing of a Palestinian child, Mohammed Al-Durra, shook the conscience of the world and aroused international feeling. Many other atrocious scenes and images have not been caught on the correspondents' cameras. All this indicates one thing: there has been a premeditated design to kill, to massacre and to carry out a true holocaust ever since the Zionists planted their strange identity at the heart of

the Arab world five decades ago. They have done so in order to create and perpetuate new faits accomplis.

This bloody scenario recurs day in and day out in occupied Palestine. There are settlements that are heavily armed with lethal weapons. There are racist settlers who provoke the defenceless indigenous population and kill them. Massacres occur that recall Hollywood films portraying the brutal wild west. Land is confiscated. An army of occupation protects the Zionists. A super-Power is providing the deadly weapons and is defending these practices and blocking world condemnation of them by all available means within and outside the United Nations.

We have said before and we reiterate today that there can be no solution to the occupation of Palestine without the return of the Palestinian people to its land and the establishment of its independent State on the entire territory of Palestine, in which peoples of all religions will coexist. What is occurring in the so-called "peace process" is merely palliative. We all aspire to peace with justice; there can be no peace without justice. The events in Palestine are links in the chain of that people's revolt against occupation, expansion and annexation for the sake of its own independence, dignity and freedom.

Today, we can only salute the Palestinian people's struggle, pray for its martyrs and condemn Israel's genocidal practices. Israel has succeeded in usurping Palestine, displacing its people and controlling its farms, lands and waters. Today, it is seeking to deprive the Palestinian people of its mosques, churches and other places of worship. The massacre raging in the occupied territories is not the first and will not be the last so long as the international community remains unable to protect the Palestinian people and to help it recover its legitimate and inalienable rights and so long as the United Nations continues to be hamstrung by the considerable pressures exerted by a super-Power in an attempt to prevent the Organization from exerting its authority. Blinded by its bias in favour of the criminal, that super-Power justifies the brutal crimes any way it can and accords equal treatment to the executioner and to the victim so as to funnel more benefits to the criminal and satisfy the Zionist lobby for electoral purposes.

We call upon the Security Council to be honest with itself and to exercise its authority by taking deterrent measures under its Charter mandate. The Council must stop this brutal and barbaric Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people. Is it possible for the Council to do this? Where is the humanitarian intervention we constantly hear about in this building? Where is the defence of human rights? Where is respect for the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War? If this matter concerned Iraq, Libya or the Sudan, even by way of mere allegations, the Council would not have taken all this time to adopt resolutions and to implement sanctions.

In conclusion, we call upon the Council, first, to take necessary and effective measures to provide full protection to the Palestinian people and its property in accordance with the principles of international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949; secondly, to condemn the Nazi-like practices perpetrated daily by the Zionists in the occupied territories, which have been perfected by those who call themselves the victims of a holocaust at the hands of Nazi executioners and who now apply them perfectly against the Palestinians; thirdly, to condemn the use of lethal weapons and cluster bombs that are internationally prohibited against defenceless Palestinian demonstrators; and fourthly, to punish the criminals who have caused the bloodshed and perpetrated the crimes by ensuring that they are tried before an international court for their crimes of war and genocide.

The President: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Sudan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Erwa (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We also express our appreciation to the Ambassador of Mali for the commendable way in which he led the Council last month. Furthermore, we thank you, Mr. President, for calling this important meeting.

The Sudanese delegation wishes to express its heartfelt condolences to the families of the martyrs of the steadfast Palestinian people who were victims of the recent and continuing Israeli aggression and oppression.

Seven years ago the international community's hopes were raised that the peace process would lead to a just and comprehensive solution to problem of the Middle East, especially the Palestinian question. However, that optimism has dwindled day after day, owing to the intransigence of Israel, which consistently refused to implement the resolutions of international legitimacy.

The visit of Ariel Sharon to Jerusalem to desecrate holy sites and the ensuing bloody actions, which did not even spare the worshippers inside the Al-Aqsa Mosque, were attempts to provoke a reaction from the Muslims and the entire Arab nation. The visit was undertaken under the protection of a terrorist force. Sudan view the visit as but one in a series of expansionist actions by which Israel seeks to consolidate its objectives, turning them into faits accomplis in order to render meaningless the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the final-status issues. The visit also exposed the fallacy of Israel's allegations regarding the issue of sovereignty over Jerusalem, a crucial issue dear to the hearts of the Palestinians and all Arabs and Muslim peoples.

What has been happening in the occupied Palestinian territories since the last week of September — the wanton killing of defenceless, unarmed Palestinian civilians — is in flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. The Convention applies to all the territories that have been under Israeli occupation since 1967. It is clear that the Israeli Government supports and gives its blessing to these provocative acts of aggression, as well as to the torture and intimidation of unarmed Palestinian civilians before the eyes of the international community, without the Israelis' showing any remorse. The Sudan strongly condemns the massacres committed at Al-Haram Al-Sharif, massacres in which hundreds of Palestinians — including elderly people, youths, women and children — were killed, wounded or maimed.

The Sudanese delegation is confident that in addressing these heinous crimes being perpetrated against unarmed Palestinian people the Security Council will assume its full responsibility and protect them against being killed and tortured by the Israeli forces that are using the most sophisticated weapons of destruction. We also call on the Council to force Israel to implement all the relevant resolutions of international legitimacy, including 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and to withdraw completely from all occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, the Syrian Golan Heights and the remaining parts of southern Lebanon.

The Sudan urges the Council to put the necessary pressure on Israel to desist from oppressive practices and flagrant violations of human rights and to engage in the peace process in a transparent and serious manner. The Sudan also urges the Council to adopt the draft resolution submitted by the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Council's inability to fulfil its obligations towards the people of Palestine and to see that this people's rights are restored raises questions concerning its credibility within the international community and promotes the idea that the Council adopts selective policies and double standards.

Finally, the Sudan reaffirms its full solidarity with the people of Palestine in their struggle to defend their territory and maintain their dignity.

The President: I thank the representative of the Sudan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): My delegation would like to begin by extending its congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency at a time when the Council has been convened to consider an issue of critical importance to the international community.

This emergency meeting has been called to address a rapidly deteriorating situation in the occupied territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif. My delegation cannot but express its profound concern at Israel's aggression against unarmed Palestinian civilians, resulting in scores of deaths and injuries. Such brutal tactics justifiably deserve global condemnation, and we therefore call upon Israel to immediately cease the incessant violence and bloodshed. Tragically, it is the women, children and elderly who bear the brunt of excessive, lethal force. No longer can the international community sit idly by while a defenceless people are mercilessly attacked by military forces.

Ever since the peace process began in 1991, the Palestinian people have been subjected to

procrastination, unkept promises and even outright intransigence. The stalled peace process had already heightened tension in the territories, as frustration and bitterness began to replace hope and optimism, particularly over the status of Al-Quds Al-Sharif. Thus the blatant provocation by Mr. Ariel Sharon in visiting Al-Haram Al-Sharif constituted a deliberate, intentional act to incite violence and thereby cause the loss of innocent life and material devastation.

Undeniably, there are some elements in Israel intent on disrupting the peace process as they wilfully disregard the ramifications of their actions. We were even more appalled that, despite the efforts of the Palestinian leaders to enter into a ceasefire agreement, the violence continued unabated as the situation worsened.

It is therefore incumbent upon the occupying Power to exercise restraint and abide by its duties and obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Every support should be extended to ensure the implementation of those measures. The compelling question here is the protection of civilians under occupation. Only through the realization of such protection can the situation return to some form of normalcy while they await the end of foreign occupation.

The fact that the Council has dealt with this conflict for so long makes it incumbent upon it to shoulder its responsibilities with regard to adopting a draft resolution, and it should proceed forthwith to implement the provisions of the resolution. For failure on the part of the Council to act in light of the increasing number of casualties would cast doubt on its credibility, and indeed moral stature, as a body that can take action, particularly when it has condemned instances of a lesser magnitude.

The use of military might can never detract from the historical and indisputable fact that Al-Haram Al-Sharif is an integral part of the occupied Palestinian territory, as reiterated in numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It therefore behoves Israel to refrain in the future from using force, which would only further complicate an already volatile situation on the ground.

Sombre developments over the past few days show us how fragile peace can be and how essential it is to achieve a comprehensive peace, which should be based on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on the principle of land for peace. Provocative acts and the perpetration of brute force against a nation and its people make it increasingly difficult to convince them that Israel is truly committed to take the path towards peace.

Far more is needed than mere rhetoric of words without follow-up concrete action to implement peace agreements already entered into, the lack of which can have dire consequences for security in the occupied territories, the region and beyond. At this critical juncture, as the spectre of violence looms, there can be no other alternative but for Israel to assume its solemn obligations and pursue in all earnest the peace negotiations.

The violent incidents that we have borne witness to is reminiscent of past strife, and it would serve the international community well to come to the realization that the patience of a people will endure only for so long. This is a time to strike out for real and bold peace with the valiant Palestinians. It is therefore our fervent hope that the ongoing talks in Paris and later in Cairo will result in ending the conflict and lead to the resumption of peace talks.

In order for this millennium to make a truly auspicious beginning, we should make every effort for the Palestinian people to regain their sovereign national rights in an independent homeland of their own. Only then can it be said that a just and comprehensive peace has been attained in the Middle East.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Oman. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Hassan (Oman) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Sir, on behalf of my Government, our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Undoubtedly, your diplomatic experience and skills are conducive to our deliberations' achieving the desired results. At the same time, we express our appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Mali, for the excellent and distinguished manner in which he steered the Council's work during September.

The Security Council is meeting today to continue a discussion of the utmost importance, on a serious matter threatening security and stability in the Middle East — the latest massacre of Palestinian civilians committed by the occupying Israeli security forces in Al-Haram Al-Sharif and the other occupied Palestinian territories.

My country expresses its profound sorrow and condolences to the bereaved families of the innocent people of the occupied territories that were victims of these bloody events. We condemn this military campaign launched by Israeli forces as a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which guarantees the protection of civilians in time of war and which has applied to the occupied territories since 1967.

What we have witnessed through the media of Palestinian youth, children and elderly caught up in the Israeli war machine must move world public opinion and drive the members of the Security Council to take a firm and responsible position against those who commit such acts.

At the core of this serious crisis lies the question of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, specifically east Al-Quds and the Old City, which Israel has been forcibly occupying since 1967, along with the rest of the occupied Palestinian territories.

There is no doubt that the international community, the members of the Security Council and international public opinion now realize that this massacre was triggered by the provocative visit by the leader of Israel's Likud party to Al-Haram Al-Sharif in defiance of the feelings of Muslims both within and outside the occupied territories. The Israeli Government decision not merely to approve that provocative visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif — which is the site of the Al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock, which are holy to Muslims worldwide — but also to provide military protection for it was taken even though the Government knew its implications and consequences. That Israeli position inevitably makes us wonder about the Government's stand on the peace process and about its seriousness about achieving a peaceful final solution to the Middle East conflict.

Today more than ever before, the Security Council must shoulder its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, in conformity with the Charter and the principles of international law, by immediately adopting effective measures to compel Israel to cease its military offensive forthwith, to withdraw its forces from the occupied Palestinian territories, to carry out all its obligations and to respect the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. It is imperative for the Security Council to send a clear message condemning this kind of State terrorism against civilians, and to call for an end to Israeli military extremism.

In conclusion, we call upon Israel to understand the sensitivity of the situation with regard to Al-Quds, which is sacred to Muslims throughout the world, and to refrain from taking any action that could affect the holy places — if it wants peace in the Middle East.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are fully convinced that your expertise in international affairs will be a major contribution to the success of the Council's work this month. We wish also to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Mali, our thanks for his unstinting efforts and for the outcome of the Council's work, especially during its millennium summit.

This meeting is of particular importance in terms of putting an end to the volatile and extremely dangerous situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. The present incidents began on 28 September when the leader of the Likud party, Ariel Sharon, accompanied by a large number of Israeli troops, stormed the forecourt of Al-Haram Al-Sharif. The next day, Israeli forces, under orders from the Israeli Government, launched unprecedented, brutal attacks on worshippers. This provoked and exacerbated tensions and heightened anger not only among Palestinians but throughout the Arab and Muslim world and among all members of the international community. It revealed Israel's dangerous, insidious intention to consolidate its occupation of the Palestinian territories, including Holy Jerusalem, the cradle of human civilization, of tolerance, and of the religious beliefs of the majority of the world's peoples.

The shameful images broadcast worldwide by the media clearly showed the brutality of the massacres and other crimes perpetrated by the Israeli occupation forces against unarmed Palestinians, including women and children. They have used weapons of all kinds — including helicopters, tanks, heavy artillery, missiles and weapons that are subject to international prohibitions — to kill stone-throwing children and to erode the peace process. It was supremely ironical — and unacceptable — that members of the Israeli security services disguised themselves in Palestinian uniforms to arrest and imprison Palestinian children and young people during the funerals of the martyrs.

In fact, this is not the first time that such things have taken place. Previous Israeli Governments perpetrated similar brutal crimes against unarmed Palestinians, starting with the massacres at Kafr Kassim and Deir Yassin, proceeding with the occupation of Palestine in 1948, which was completed in 1967, and continuing with the Sabra and Shatila massacres — which were orchestrated and supervised by Ariel Sharon himself in Lebanon in 1982 — and other subsequent massacres that we are still witnessing.

The political leadership of the United Arab Emirates accords the highest importance to the unfortunate developments in the occupied Palestinian territories, and was among the first to engage in political and diplomatic contacts with a view to containing the situation. Among such activities were two messages from His Highness Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al-Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, to the President of the United Arab Emirates, to the President of the United States of America and the President of France, as well as contacts by our Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, His Highness Sheikh Hamdan bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and with the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, with a view to taking decisive, effective international and bilateral measures to protect the Palestinian people and the holy places, and to put an end to the ongoing crimes perpetrated by the Israeli forces against unarmed Palestinians, including stone-throwing children and women. These violations contradict, in letter and substance, all the norms of international humanitarian law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949. They emphasize the need for the two parties, the Palestinians and the Israelis, to resume negotiations in order to seek a peaceful solution based on relevant resolutions and international legitimacy. There is also a need for an impartial international committee to investigate the causes of the crimes perpetrated against the Palestinian people and prevent the recurrence of such crimes, in conformity with international law.

Despite the Paris meeting yesterday between the two parties, in the presence of the Secretary-General and the United States Secretary of State, to seek a ceasefire and a peaceful solution to the present situation, based on United Nations resolutions and the agreements concluded between the two parties, the Israeli Government continues to carry out massacres and aggression against the Palestinian people and to put them in detention. The number of martyrs exceeds 74, and there are more than 2,000 wounded, most in a critical condition. Israeli forces continue to destroy electricity stations in Palestinian towns and villages. Furthermore, they are arresting and incarcerating Palestinians simply because they are defending their legitimate rights, covered by resolutions on international legitimacy, as do other people of the world.

The United Arab Emirates strongly condemns these dangerous developments and incidents, the violations and brutal crimes that the Israeli forces continue to commit, and holds the Israeli Government fully responsible for the results of these crimes against the Palestinian people and for peace and security in the region. Therefore, we call on the co-sponsors of the peace process, other active countries and the Security Council to assume their legal, political and historical responsibilities. The Council, being responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, must defend its relevant resolutions on the Palestinian question by immediately implementing the necessary measures to end the oppression and brutal murders carried out by the Israeli forces throughout the occupied Palestinian territories.

In conclusion, we reaffirm our full solidarity with the Palestinian people and the Palestinian National Authority, and support their legitimate aspirations to an independent State, with Holy Jerusalem as its capital; the return of Palestinian refugees to their homeland, Palestine; and the removal of illegal Israeli colonialist settlements. We also emphasize that a just and lasting peace in the region requires the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), based on the principle of land for peace.

Without the Israeli Government's full compliance with those resolutions, based on international legitimacy, the problem in the Middle East will continue, resulting in an instability in the region that will reflect on international peace and security.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. Mokhtar Lamani, Permanent Observer for the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamani (Organization on the Islamic Conference) (*spoke in Arabic*): The Security Council is meeting once again to consider Israel's serious, dangerous actions in the occupied Arab territories, resulting in the killing of innocent children, women and the elderly. Israel pays lip service to its desire for peace but pursues activities and practices that run counter to peace. The peace process, which started at the Madrid Conference more than nine years ago, reached an impasse because of those practices and actions and because of the fluctuating positions adopted by subsequent Israeli Governments towards the process and the commitments and conventions emanating from it. No one can predict the extent of the dangerous repercussions that will result if Israel goes back on the peace process, gradually evades its obligations and disregards conventions.

The Islamic Group has resorted to your Council, Mr. President, realizing that Al-Quds has a special status in the United Nations, the General Assembly and this Council. It also has an internationally irrefutable position. Previous resolutions adopted by the Council constitute the sound legal framework for this holy city. The Palestinian reaction to Israeli provocations and use of Israel's military machinery is evidence of its belief in its tireless struggle for self-determination and a decent life, free and independent in its homeland.

Israel stands once again against the current of history and the international trend to achieve peace, upholding its positions and policies on the basis of continued occupation, illegal terms, settlement activities, the confiscation of property, house demolitions, the Judaization and isolation of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the perpetration of aggressive acts against holy Islamic sites, particularly Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the collective punishment of the Palestinian people. All this spells out how determined Israel is to undermine and destroy the peace process and to spread tension and anarchy throughout the region.

Once again we reaffirm the firm position of the Organization of the Islamic Conference vis-à-vis the question of Palestine and Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the crux of the Middle East conflict. We support the Palestinian position, which is based on upholding sovereignty over Al-Quds Al-Sharif, including Al-Haram Al-Sharif, part and parcel of the Palestinian territories occupied since June 1967. The Security Council, given its weight in the international arena, must play a fundamental role in restoring the peace process to its proper track by pressuring Israel to implement resolutions based on international legitimacy and to abide by the agreements it has signed with the Palestinian leadership. The Palestinian people are a major partner in the peace process. Peace cannot be just or lasting in the region if that people do not regain their full legitimate rights, like other people of the world, and if Israel does not withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kobayashi (Japan): My delegation expresses its appreciation to you, Mr. President, for providing us with the opportunity to present Japan's views on the grave situation we face today in the Middle East.

Japan deplores the escalation of violent clashes between Palestinians and the Israeli authorities in Jerusalem and other cities, in which more than 60 people, mostly civilians and innocent children, have been killed. We condemn the acts of provocation and are concerned at the instances of excessive use of force that have been observed in the past few days.

I wish, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan, to extend my sincere condolences to the bereaved families, and to express the sincere hope that the wounded will recover quickly.

In the hope of helping the wounded and saving precious lives, and in response to a request from the Palestinian Authority, Japan has decided to provide through the United Nations Development Programme $500,000 in emergency humanitarian assistance for the purchase of medical equipment, which is urgently needed in the West Bank and Gaza at this time of crisis.

Further casualties must be avoided. The immediate task is to halt the clashes as soon as possible. To this end, we strongly urge the parties concerned to act with utmost restraint and refrain from any further acts of provocation and violence. Nothing can be achieved through violence, which only claims more victims and leaves deeper scars in the hearts of the people.

In that context, Japan welcomes the diplomatic efforts that the parties concerned have made in Paris to reverse the cycle of violence, and we commend the initiatives taken by the United States, France and Egypt to facilitate such efforts. We appeal to the parties concerned to respond to the call of the international community for the cessation of violence and the avoidance of further bloodshed.

The current crisis attests most starkly to the need to realize a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. This is what the people of the region so desperately desire and what the international community is committed to achieving. We must not allow this crisis to derail the ongoing peace process. Japan reiterates its support for the efforts of the parties concerned to achieve peace. Japan remains committed to assist the peace process through various international forums and channels.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Morocco. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Zahid (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the Moroccan delegation, I would first of all like to extend to you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations on presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. I would also like to thank you for responding promptly to the requests addressed to you for the Council to deal urgently with the events that have taken place at Al-Quds Al-Sharif and in other parts of the occupied Arab territories. I would also like to congratulate and pay heartfelt tribute to Ambassador Moctar Ouane for the excellent and competent way he guided the work of the Council during the month of September and during the Council's Millennium Summit.

We have looked on with horror at the unimaginable scenes that have taken place in recent days on the esplanade of the mosque at Al-Haram Al-Sharif and in various towns of occupied Arab and Palestinian territory. We were aghast at seeing Israeli forces use so much violence against demonstrators who had legitimately risen up after the monstrous provocation by the head of that country's opposition. The police, which should have prevented Sharon from committing an irreparable act, fired upon those who were expressing the emotions, hurt and shock they felt at the moment.

However one interprets the facts, what happened is to be resolutely condemned. The figures that have been given include 80 dead and 1,000 injured, numbers one expects to see when fighting against an army, and not against a people.

At a time when we were beginning to see a glimpse of hope that Palestine and Israel would at last find peace and begin to try together to repair the dozens of years lost by the hundreds of thousands of people who have suffered in body and spirit; and at a time when we truly believed that wisdom was going to prevail over hatred, one man was allowed to call into question everything that had been so patiently and courageously woven together by people of good will. It will take a long time for the families who lost family members in these incidents to forget what has happened, and even longer for the hundreds of millions of believers throughout the world who felt their deepest beliefs insulted and their strongest values offended.

These inexcusable acts could have been prevented. Unfortunately, the violence continues. It is inadmissible and nothing can justify it. The Palestinian people did not have to be tested again in such a horrible way. They have made enough sacrifices and have paid their dues for peace and independence. Let them at last be allowed to live in peace and to bind their deep wounds.

Everything that has happened is so ghastly that those responsible for it should be ashamed of themselves. They should know that those who have unleashed these events and massacres undoubtedly wanted to destroy all the peace efforts made to date. They almost succeeded. At any rate, they have partially destroyed the large reserve of trust, which had already been eroded.

It is equally serious and reprehensible that the victims fell to the bullets of the police. The international community should understand that if peace, which has once again been jeopardized, does not soon see the light of day and is not defended by all,

both the immediate and the long-term future of this region near to all our hearts will be doomed.

Morocco extends its condolences to the families of the martyrs and reaffirms its support for the peace process. Morocco believes that there can be no just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region unless the principles that emerged from the Madrid Conference are respected, particularly that of land for peace, and Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are fully implemented, so as to help the Palestinian people regain their inalienable and legitimate rights, primarily the right to establish an independent State in their territory, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

We sincerely hope that the meetings that a number of countries, including France, the United States and Egypt, are attempting to organize will be successful, for there is no alternative to the imperative need to continue the peace process, regardless of the obstacles it faces.

The President: I thank the representative of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Lebanon. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tadmoury (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): Sir, we are pleased to see you preside over this meeting, and we are confident that your wisdom and skills will ensure the success of the work of the Council.

Once again the Security Council meets to discuss dangerous and bloody events in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the other occupied Palestinian territories. Once again the world witnesses the appalling behaviour of an Israeli official, the head of the Likud party. He is known to the Lebanese because of his role in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. The Lebanese people can never forget the images of the massacres and tragedies he inflicted on Lebanese and Palestinians alike. This man, on 28 September last, carried out an act of provocation — the violation of Al-Haram Al-Sharif — in the framework of an orchestrated scenario, with the goal of undermining hopes for peace. He was fully aware of the consequences of his actions, which were carried out in coordination with the Israeli authorities and under their protection. He has carried out bloody campaigns of repression, which continue to victimize many innocent people, children in particular. All of us were shocked by those murders.

Lebanon condemns Israel's continuing bloody campaigns of aggression against the Palestinian people and appeals to the Council to force Israel to respect the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and the relevant protocols, as well as the Hague Convention of 1907.

I should like to remind all present that Israel has no right to act as it pleases with respect to Al-Quds and the occupied Arab territories. It cannot impose its will in contravention of the provisions of internationally binding resolutions and the framework of peace specified at the Middle East Conference — disrupting peaceful negotiations by staging internal disputes, preferring the logic of force to that of justice and right, and ignoring human rights, which are being flagrantly violated, in an unprecedented manner, in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and other occupied territories.

Al-Quds Al-Sharif has a special significance in our country. Its holy places are ancient, dating far back in the history of civilizations. We are sad to see Al-Quds Al-Sharif bloodsoaked and awaiting a just peace in the framework of international legitimacy. Today more than ever before the Security Council must endeavour to halt the deliberate provocations that are taking place in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, to put an end to Israeli violence, to create the necessary conditions for both co-sponsors of the peace process and the European Union, to bring the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict back to the negotiating table in order to achieve a just and comprehensive solution on the basis of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and to realize the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes, in keeping with the provisions of resolution 194 (III).

The requisites of peace are well-known now. The opposition and the Government of Israel would do well to realize that persisting in the use of violence will never lead to the peace and security we all aspire to. They must learn from recent experiences.

The President: I thank the representative of Lebanon for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Nepal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sharma (Nepal): Let me begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your assumption of the

presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I thank you for convening this meeting to consider the topical and sensitive issue of the Middle East.

The Middle East is once again experiencing a new bout of violence. The bullets did not spare even a 12-year-old boy, Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra. Nepal is shocked by the loss of so many innocent lives as violence sweeps through Jerusalem, other places in the West Bank and Gaza. Nepal expresses its deep condolences to the families of those who were killed in the violence.

We had all hoped, not without reason, that the Middle East would soon see the dawn of peace. However, the recent eruption of violence is a disturbing reminder that the Middle East peace process is still precarious. There are people who would not mind derailing it.

We believe that there should be a full investigation into the flare-up, and that those who are responsible for precipitating it must be held accountable for their acts. The excessive use of force to control the protests has further vitiated the environment for improving the situation and retrieving the peace process. Nepal strongly urges all sides to exercise the utmost restraint, to cease hostilities and to prevent the peace process from derailing.

Peace might not be so urgent for those who take ill-conceived trips to sensitive areas, surrounded by a posse of security personnel. But it is truly urgent for ordinary people in Palestine and in Israel — for the people who are tired of living in fear; for those mothers whose children might be killed in episodes of violence on their way to school; for those widows who have lost their husbands to violence; for those old people who cannot run swiftly from the scenes of violence; and for those children who would otherwise have a long and fulfilling life ahead.

The present cycle of violence underscores all the more the urgency for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In this context, Nepal fully supports the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and to have their own independent State, with Jerusalem as its capital. We also call for the implementation of all United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories.

Nepal welcomes the Paris meeting of 4 October and the Cairo meeting that is taking place today in an effort to defuse the crisis. We commend the United States for taking those initiatives. The Security Council must swing into effective action to bring the situation under control without delay. Now is the time to leave mutual animosities behind, to build bridges and to apply energy and resources to promote peace and prosperity in the Middle East. All sides must exercise leadership to preserve the achievements made so far and move speedily ahead with the peace process, especially when the region is closer than ever to a durable peace.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nguyen Thanh Chau (Viet Nam): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to speak, for the first time before the Council, about the deplorable violent outbreaks that have taken place in the Middle East.

First of all, I should like to extend my warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that, given your diplomatic skills and wisdom, the work of the Council will be brought to a productive conclusion. I also wish to extend my appreciation to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Mali, for all the efforts he made during his presidency during the month of September. I also wish to congratulate all the other members of the Council.

We are deeply shocked and horrified by the unjustified killings of innocent people by the Israeli troops, which ushered in a new cycle of violence and excessive use of force in the eastern part of Jerusalem. Those tragic events posed a serious threat to the fragile peace, tirelessly worked out in the Middle East, and further testified to the need for more painstaking efforts to be made by all the parties concerned, so that talks can again get under way and the peace process be restarted.

We extend our heartfelt condolences to the families of those who died or were wounded in the recent violence. We urge all parties to act with utmost responsibility and restraint and to refrain from any acts of a provocative nature, which would surely complicate the already volatile situation.

Our position on the Middle East is clear: we have consistently expressed our strong support for the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question. We wish to reiterate our unreserved and unswerving support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent State with Jerusalem as its capital, and the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland, as set out in the Hanoi Declaration adopted by the United Nations conference on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, held in Hanoi, Viet Nam, in March 2000.

We call on both parties to the conflict to make all efforts to overcome the current obstacles and persevere in their pursuit of a just and lasting solution to the conflict. We firmly believe that the only possible way to restore peace in the region is through a solution based on Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, on the principle of land for peace and on various international agreements signed by the parties concerned.

We welcome the continuing efforts of all the parties concerned, inside and outside the Middle East, to restore the peace process. We strongly believe that efforts for peace will prevail and that the Palestinian people will soon have the opportunity to live in peace — a peace that they deserve and for which they have courageously fought for so long.

The President: I thank the representative of Viet Nam for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. Amadou Kébé, Permanent Observer for the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kébé (*spoke in French*): Thank you, Sir, for inviting me to take part in this meeting. I should like to convey to you my warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Given the steadfast commitment of your country, Namibia, to the ideals of the United Nations and the cause of peace and security throughout the world, there can be no doubt that, during this month of October, considerable progress will be made on all the items on the Council's agenda.

I also wish to extend congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Moctar Ouane of Mali, for the achievements in the month of September, the most remarkable of which was certainly the Council meeting of the heads of State.

The current violence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is so serious that, if we are not careful, it could jeopardize the entire peace process that the international community has patiently and obdurately, year after year, in one attempt after another had managed to get on track.

In today's debate, the purpose of my statement is mainly to bring to the Council the statement made by His Excellency Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), on 4 October 2000 to express the OAU's concern at the serious turn events have taken in that part of the world so dear to us all.

> "I have followed with great concern the deplorable escalation of violence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip where a great many Palestinians and Israelis have met their deaths and where hundreds of Palestinians have been injured.
>
> "This situation has arisen as a result of the visit that General Ariel Sharon, leader of the Israeli Likud party, made under a strong military escort to Al-Haram Al-Sharif, one of the most important holy places of Islam. The Palestinian people saw in this visit as a provocation. The demonstrations which followed degenerated into clashes between Israeli security forces and Palestinians. The Israeli forces have tried to repress the protests with violence, using excessive brutality and causing a great many victims.
>
> "I make a heartfelt appeal to the Israeli authorities for them to take every necessary measure to deal with the underlying causes of this resurgence of violence in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip and I call upon them to show restraint to avoid any further loss of life on either side.
>
> "I most particularly call on the Israeli and the Palestinian authorities to create conditions conducive to ending the violence that prevails and for them to enter into face-to-face negotiations so

as to arrive at a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region. In this respect, I welcome the recent initiative taken by the United States Government and express the hope that it may indeed defuse the crisis.

"Finally, I wish to reaffirm the support of the OAU for the Palestinian people in their struggle under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right to return to their homeland and to recover their property, their right to self-determination and to establish an independent State on national territory, in accordance with the principles of international law and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations."

I thank you, Sir, for having allowed me to bring this important message to the Security Council.

The President: I thank His Excellency Mr. Kébé for the kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to offer you our best wishes for success in your work and to state that Spain endorses the statements made by the representative of France on behalf of the European Union.

Spain views what is happening in the occupied territories with the deepest concern. These events clearly show how easy it is for one obviously unacceptable and destabilizing act of provocation to spark a vortex of violence with tragic consequences which as yet cannot be calculated. In these circumstances, the disproportionate response of the security forces merely serves the interests of those who want the situation to get completely out of hand.

We consider that there is an urgent need now for both those directly responsible for the events and the international community to take whatever measures are required to lessen tension and violence.

To that end, in this very dangerous time, what is important, more important than ever, is to ensure strictest compliance with the international legal framework and international humanitarian law. It is also essential to ensure observance of the agreements between the parties aimed at ending the violence and to have the presence of the armed forces reduced to a minimum. It is also very important to have self-control and prudence on the part of all. Similarly, Spain considers that the establishment of an international commission to objectively investigate what happened could serve to reduce tension considerably.

These are initial emergency measures that should make it possible, within the peace process, to address the underlying causes of the crisis. The peace process, with the principles and terms of reference that were well established at the Madrid Conference, the Security Council resolutions and the subsequent accords, are the only common framework of reference that can bring about a political settlement of the crisis.

Spain hopes that the meetings held yesterday in Paris and being held today in Egypt will be able to give effect to the measures required and that the proper impetus can be given to the peace process, because the enemies of peace must be thwarted in their purposes.

We must not play into the hands of those who wish to sabotage the process.

It is very important to arrive at a peace agreement. The Palestinians need it. The Israelis need it. The international community needs this. It is deeply to be hoped that the window of opportunity is not being closed by these tragic events, because we need to make use of it. Even more important is that the agreement, particularly when it comes to Jerusalem, must be fair, acceptable and satisfactory to both parties. This is the only way to guarantee that it will be viable and lasting and that a just peace can be attained, which has been the hope of all the peoples in the region.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Malta. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Balzan (Malta): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month and to express my appreciation to you for convening this emergency meeting on an issue which has shocked and saddened the international community.

The sight of the ongoing incidents in the Middle East region cannot but highlight the importance of the

resumption of the peace talks, which unfortunately have suffered a severe setback at a point in time when all those of good will were full of hope that, ultimately, the comprehensive and lasting peace that has eluded us for so long could be achievable.

Malta shares the concerns already expressed by the European Union regarding the ongoing incidents and supports President Arafat's request for the creation of an international commission entrusted with the responsibility of objectively determining the root causes and consequences of these incidents, which we cannot fail to emphatically deplore.

Malta unreservedly condemns the irresponsible provocations of those elements hostile to the peace process, triggering the violent reactions of the past days and resulting in the tragic loss of lives of civilians and innocent victims, including children. May I express our sincere and deepest condolences to the families of those who fell victim in these tragic events. Indeed, the shameful use of force perpetrated by those responsible for the maintenance of order is in clear violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. We concur with the view expressed by President Chirac that "one does not fight against the emotion of a people with armour".

We should not allow these incidents, however, to reverse or undermine the progress achieved so far in the peace process and we sincerely hope that all initiatives currently undertaken to put the peace process back on track receive the support and backing of all those who have the achievement of a lasting peace at heart. The tragic consequences of these unfortunate events should not discourage the international community. It should certainly not discourage the interested parties. These devastating circumstances should strengthen our commitment to the achievement of a comprehensive peace based on the relevant Security Council resolutions and in full respect of international law.

Let me end this brief intervention by appealing on behalf of the Government of Malta for an end to the current violent events and an immediate return to the negotiating table. It is only through constructive dialogue and political will that a lasting, just and comprehensive peace can be attained — a peace that would ensure that Palestinians and Israelis alike live peacefully side by side. We should not give up hope, nor should the parties involved. This is why it is so necessary to ensure that any hostile actions that undermine the achievement of such a noble objective are stopped. We are convinced that the international community continues to have faith in a negotiated, peaceful settlement.

The stakes may be high, but the price of peace is never too high.

The President: I thank the representative of Malta for his kinds words addressed to me.

I call on the representative of Israel.

Mr. Lancry (Israel) (*spoke in French*): I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to make this additional statement. I will try as best I can not to make my response a rejoinder, despite the particularly difficult context that has elicited it.

In order to keep peace moving ahead, in spite of all the detours and setbacks that, in very painful and tragic episodes, have set the pace of the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, we must exhibit a healthy restraint in act and in speech. As we see it, there is one choice only: the language of peace and the teaching of peace cannot include white-hot rhetoric. I therefore wish deliberately to speak in a muted voice so as clearly to enunciate convictions that are as earnest as they are necessary.

The first of these is on the need for a total and immediate halt to the violence in order to provide concrete and psychological support for the consultations in Paris and Sharm el-Sheikh between us, the partners in peace.

Only an abusively simplistic and reductive vision, only a perception that is obstinately one-dimensional could identify Israel as being solely responsible for the tragic deterioration that we have witnessed. With the passage of time, everyone will know and understand this better. The truth is far more complex than the systematically embroidered cliché of an Israeli war machine launched against defenceless Palestinian civilians.

Above and beyond young Palestinians throwing stones, acts of Palestinian violence are being committed by the armed militia of Tanzim and the Palestinian police. This armed and organized Palestinian violence, both civilian and military, is directly answerable to the hierarchy of the Palestinian Authority and is being carried out in strict obedience to it. This campaign is in itself a continual source of

provocation and bears heavily on the tragic course of events.

Moreover, even Mr. Marwan Barghouti, a member of the Palestinian Parliament and the head of Tanzim, makes no secret of this. His recent call for the wholesale killing of Israelis was based on the militia members at his service and on the green light given by the Palestinian Authority that supports him. In past times and in a far more upbeat context, I personally had the opportunity to promote peace with Mr. Barghouti at the many Israeli-Palestinian talks in Greece and as founding members of the Israeli-Arab alliance for peace in Copenhagen.

The visit of Mr. Ariel Sharon has been identified by most speakers in this Security Council debate as the primary cause of the outbreak of violence of the past few days. Some have gone so far as to imagine premeditated collusion between Mr. Sharon and Prime Minister Barak aimed at better establishing the Israeli right to sovereignty on the Temple Mount. Others have seen in it a loathsome profanation of Islamic holy sites.

These assertions seem to us to be so excessive that they deserve to be recorded so that we may underline, step by step, the full import of each.

First, whatever its motives and implications, Mr. Sharon's visit was undertaken in full compliance with the fundamental principles of Israeli democracy. Further, and because of this same democracy, Mr. Barak could not impede Mr. Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. A clear and unbiased view of Israeli democracy would allow those who felt a responsibility to be objective to qualify their judgements and to distance themselves from entirely unfounded presuppositions.

Finally, it is out of absolute respect for Islam and its holy sites — Al-Haram Al-Sharif in particular — that I would like to contribute to this serious and solemn discussion. The Temple Mount is also the foremost holy place of Judaism. Confronted with the attempt — methodically pursued here and elsewhere — to conceal this fundamental truth, we need to affirm that the Temple Mount, sacred to Islam on the side where Al-Haram Al-Sharif is located, is equally sacred to Judaism for its more ancient layers, on which Jewish identity and history are based.

We believe this reminder is necessary not only in the context of the issue that concerns us here and now, but also for the dialogue aimed at reaching a definitive peace between the Palestinians and us. Only if the two sides are able to consider and accept each other's symbolic systems and political systems can peace be achieved.

Sudden progress and new forms of progress were achieved at the Camp David negotiations and in the negotiations that followed them. This progress was the direct outgrowth of the Barak Government's policy of peace. During those negotiations, the untouchable became tangible, the forbidden became palpable, and some huge difficulties were removed.

We find ourselves at exactly this crucial stage. President Arafat and his negotiators know this only too well. The international community witnessed this fact at the Millennium Summit. President Arafat and Prime Minister Barak were summoned by history to agree to a real peace — that is, a peace that cannot fulfil all the dreams and utopian visions of either side.

This discussion that has been spread out over several meetings of the Security Council could not have been more solemn and bitter. Some of the residue, some of the wilder scraps need, therefore, to be cleaned up. Calumny cannot lie forever hidden under the most forceful rhetoric. For example, there were the Bahraini and Libyan delegations' cold, oblique allusions to the Nazi regime, and the Iraqi delegation's repudiation of Israel's right to exist. As for Algeria, from the bottom of our hearts we wish that it might put an end to the succession of massacres occurring on its own territory. Such an action would certainly put it in a better moral position to denounce massacres occurring elsewhere.

In this unhappy and tragic moment in Israeli-Palestinian relations, there is a neither mawkish nor superfluous need for compassion. How can one not sympathize — from the heart, not condescendingly or arrogantly — with the strong feelings that the Permanent Representative of Palestine, Ambassador Nasser Al-Kidwa, expressed during his statement this past Tuesday. How can one not sympathize — with a torn soul — with the distressing death of the young Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra. It is with the Palestinians, not against them, that we cry, as we cry for our own dead.

At this point I would like to appeal with all my heart for a return to calm and the rapid coming of peace. This Israeli-Palestinian peace process is not yet completely free of all contradictions. Sometimes the

process brings us together, at other times it distances us. Our joint healing, our redemption, must be achieved by reaching peace with those near and far.

I would like to tell the Council the meaning of this last idea in Hebrew and in Arabic to simultaneously ll attention to the visceral closeness of these two languages and to the desires for symbiosis that unite us.

(*spoke first in Hebrew, then in Arabic*)

Peace, peace be unto those far and near, God said.

The President: The Permanent Observer of Palestine has asked for the floor.

Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) (*spoke in Arabic*): Of course we might have spared the members of the Council this additional intervention, but naturally I have to answer some of the points that were raised.

Allow me to start by informing the Council about some incidents that took place today. I am quoting from a news agency in English.

(*spoke in English*)

> "A 20-year-old Palestinian was shot dead by a bullet to his chest in the West Bank town of Beit Jala near Bethlehem. The director of the Beit Jala hospital said that at least one of the wounded admitted to the hospital had been struck by a dumdum bullet designed to explode inside the body. Witnesses said that another Palestinian man was shot dead as he tried to rip down an Israeli flag from the military post at the junction of Netzarim."

(*spoke in Arabic*)

Netzarim is a colony situated in the heart of Gaza, believe it or not. It is almost vacant, but its main purpose is to make the life of the Palestinians in Gaza almost impossible.

Today's events occurred despite the efforts deployed yesterday in Paris and today in Sharm el-Sheikh — and many of those who addressed the Council expressed their hopes and prayers that those efforts would be successful. Those efforts, regrettably enough, have not yet led to any specific positive results. During the meeting in Paris no agreement was reached, and this was basically because Israel rejected the idea of an international commission of inquiry.

What is more regrettable is that Mr. Barak did not go to Sharm el-Sheikh. He did not go there, although President Yasser Arafat and Mrs. Madeleine Albright were there. The four-party meeting was not held. It seems to me that this provides even more evidence of Israeli intentions.

Regarding the visit by Ariel Sharon, whose record is well-known, and the reference to Israeli democracy in this context, it is not my intention to go into a discussion of the nature of this democracy and its modus operandi, at least when it relates to the Israeli Arabs. This is not an issue for the Council to discuss for today. But suffice it to say that we are talking about occupied territories. We are talking about occupied East Jerusalem, the subject of 24 resolutions by the Council affirming that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to it. After 24 resolutions from the Security Council the representative of Israel comes to claim that Israel is dealing with this part of the territory in consonance with Israeli democracy, instead of acting in consonance with international humanitarian law, the Fourth Geneva Convention and the obligations of Israel as the occupying force. Al-Haram Al-Sharif, which is the third holy place, is part of East Jerusalem, which is part of the occupied Palestinian land. It belongs to the Muslims and must be under Palestinian-Arab-Muslim sovereignty, and we shall at no time, now or in the future, accept any claims of Israeli sovereignty over that part. At the same time, we have expressed our readiness to accept the control of Israel over the Wailing Wall, despite the fact that it is in the eastern, occupied section of Jerusalem. We accepted that out of respect for the religious beliefs of the other party, irrespective of what we feel or believe. But, Israel is now claiming rights over Al-Haram Al-Sharif, which can only be interpreted as a desire to change the status quo, perhaps desecrating existing holy places in the future. We do not think that this has any relation to any sincere religious sentiments.

The representative of Israel, Ambassador Lancry, said how much he and other Israelis were deeply moved by the death of the child, Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra. I do not deny that such personal feelings and emotions do exist. This is welcome, but what is the difference between the murder of Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra and the killing of other children? What is the difference between Mohammed, Ahmed, or Ali or any other name? The main difference here is that the camera of *Antenne 2* (of Canal France) captured that

brutal Israeli act in this specific case. The camera, and not the truth, is then what roused Israeli emotions. This is deeply regrettable and goes to show that Israel is bent on refusing to assume responsibility for the crime that took place.

We were hoping that we would hear Israel accepting responsibility, not only for Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra, not only because of the camera that captured that scene, but for all the other killings. We hoped that we would hear an apology from Israel to the families of the victims. This did not happen. This confirms that the international community must assume its responsibilities and put an end to this crime, impose the convening of an international commission of inquiry to find the truth and to punish those who are responsible and to make sure that such crimes are not repeated in the future.

I would like to refer to the Israeli allegation with regard to what they call the "incitement", or Palestinian violence or what they call the organization etc.

In our address to the Council, we said that only those who are incapable of seeing, or only a racist can make such an allegation. Now, we should add stupidity to those who have the courage to make such an allegation. Why? Because now there are many cameras, not only the one that captured the murder of Mohammed Jamal Al-Durra. Those cameras have exposed the truth of what has been happening to the whole world.

Other ugly scenes took place inside Israel itself. Did the Palestinian Authority plan or orchestrate what happened inside Israel itself? Did it incite the Israeli Arabs to do that? ... not, why then are there 11 dead and more than 100 wounded among the Israeli Arab? Israel has immediately to stop making such shameless allegations. This could be a genuine step towards admitting the truth and recognizing the humanity of the other party. Similarly, it could be the beginning of Israel's assuming and admitting its responsibilities. Without doing this, Israel cannot claim that it wants to make peace with the Palestinian people. It would not be possible to claim that they are willing to make peace.

There are some serious attempts to enable the Council to adopt a clear, constructive and useful position in consonance with the obligations of the Council and in defence of justice and the cause of peace in the region. In this respect, it is incumbent upon us to thank the members of the Non-Aligned Movement who are members in the Council and have tabled the draft resolution. We express our deep appreciation for the consultations that have taken place on this subject. We do hope that the Council will be able to take action and call for an urgent international inquiry into the incidents of the past few days.

Finally, we express our deep gratitude to all members of the Council and to all other States Members of the United Nations and others that participated in the debate over the past three days. They all spoke in defence of the meaning and the symbols of humanity, and in support of justice worldwide.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to announce to members of the Council that I intend to convene consultations of the whole this evening at 10 o'clock to consider the draft resolution that our experts are now busy working on.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4204th meeting

Thursday, 5 October 2000, 3 p.m.
New York

Corrigendum

Page 5, last paragraph, first line

For **Mr. Al-Hassan** (Oman) *read* **Mr. Al-Hinai** (Oman)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-68237 (E)

United Nations S/PV.4205

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4205th meeting

Saturday, 7 October 2000, 7.50 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. Andjaba	(Namibia)
Members	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahmed
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Mr. Prendergast
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/928)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/929)

Identical letters dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/930)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/934)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/935)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-67907 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/928)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/929)

Identical letters dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/930)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/934)

Letter dated 2 October 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/935)

The President: In accordance with the decision taken at the 4204th meeting, I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2000/963, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Tunisia and Ukraine.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Against:

None

Abstaining:

United States of America

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against and one abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1322 (2000).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4206

Security Council

Distr.: General
12 October 2000

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4206th meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 12 October 2000, at 3 p.m.

The Security Council met in private at its 4206th meeting, held on 12 October 2000, in connection with the item entitled "The situation in East Timor", for the purpose of a briefing by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1319 (2000).

The President extended an invitation in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Dr. Alwi Shihab, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia.

The members of the Council and His Excellency Dr. Alwi Shihab had a frank and constructive discussion. They recalled the letter of the Security Council President to the Secretary-General of 8 September 2000, which set out their agreement to dispatch a mission to Indonesia and East Timor. They welcomed the invitation from the Government of Indonesia to a mission to Indonesia in the week of 13 November 2000, following the mission's visit to East Timor.

00-68676 (E) 121000

United Nations S/PV.4207

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4207th meeting

Friday, 13 October 2000, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Andjaba	(Namibia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahmed
	Canada	Mr. Duval
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Kasse
	Netherlands	Mr. Kooijmans
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Fourth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2000/888)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-68746 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Fourth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2000/888)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took the seat reserved for him at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the fourth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, document S/2000/888.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2000/979, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Duval (Canada) (*spoke in French*): Canada remains greatly concerned over the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and in particular over the difficult path to implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

Today marks the third time that the Security Council has met to renew the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). Yet the Ceasefire Agreement that MONUC was created to help implement remains the object of wholesale violations by all sides more than a year after it was signed. These same parties continue to hinder the deployment of MONUC, without which these violations cannot be reported credibly and thus deterred. The principal political elements of the Agreement also have yet to be implemented, with the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo falling short of honouring its commitment to participate in a genuine inter-Congolese dialogue, and with foreign forces, most notably those of Rwanda and Uganda, remaining on Congolese soil in violation of United Nations resolutions.

It should be noted by the international community, and particularly by our friends in Africa, that the Security Council has spared no effort in encouraging and exhorting the signatories of the Lusaka Agreement to honour their commitments under the Agreement. Since January, the tireless and commendable efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative have been supported through special Council meetings with the signatories and with the Political Committee and the Joint Military Commission; through a Council delegation visit to the Great Lakes; through a number of extraordinary meetings; and most recently, through the timely involvement of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, General Abdulsalami Abubakar. And throughout, the Council has stood ready to give the full measure of its support through the deployment of a peacekeeping force.

Yet the signatories of the Lusaka Agreement have not seized the Council's engagement as an opportunity to bring an end to this devastating conflict, and valuable time and countless lives have been lost during a year of delay.

It saddens me to say this, but upon reflecting on the events since January, I am obliged to note that the main parties to the Agreement have not demonstrated sufficient commitment to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Indeed, the continued pervasiveness of premeditated attacks throughout the country suggests that force, rather than dialogue, remains the parties' preferred means of interaction. Until this changes, there will be little that the Security Council can do to stabilize the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or to move the countries of the region towards a common understanding of the need for peace.

At present, MONUC is unable to deploy its personnel to the regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo where its presence is needed. In the first instance, it is the responsibility of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to get the peace process moving again by finally honouring its repeated commitment to allow MONUC full freedom of movement. While Canada is ready to support all further efforts by the Secretariat and the Security Council to impress upon Congolese authorities the need for unhindered deployment, we also look to the allies of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to further manifest their desire that the Government should agree to a meaningful United Nations presence and to use their influence to that end. In that regard, we encourage the Secretariat to explore all diplomatic avenues, including among key regional actors, to secure the cooperation of the Government.

It remains the responsibility of all parties, however, to acknowledge, in word and in deed, that the United Nations presence is necessary and that it cannot be made secondary to strategic calculations. The signatories of the Lusaka Agreement must realize that the Security Council will not consent to a process in which cooperation with MONUC or with the Joint Military Commission is selective or is used to legitimize gains made through armed aggression. While Canada encourages the parties to continue bilateral discussions on the margins of the Lusaka Agreement, we reiterate that that Agreement remains the central basis of Canada's support for a United Nations peacekeeping role in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Canada believes that the Security Council and the Secretariat have demonstrated a commendable degree of patience in nurturing every positive development in the peace process in the hope of reaching a breakthrough. Clearly, the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the human stakes involved, justify this sustained approach. We also believe, however, that the parties to the Agreement, through their unwillingness to commit fully to the process, are threatening the international community's investment in the peace process.

If the parties do not desist from this destructive approach, we believe that the Security Council will need to re-examine whether MONUC as now conceived is the most appropriate instrument for helping to stabilize the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In the wake of the report (S/2000/809) of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, we question whether the current level of commitment to the Lusaka Agreement meets baseline standards for a United Nations peacekeeping presence.

(*spoke in English*)

As we agree to renew the mandate of MONUC for another two months in the hope that forward progress will soon be realized, Canada believes that the Council should reflect on the assumptions that informed the mandate of MONUC upon its creation. Specifically, we should examine whether the Mission's concept of operations, shaped as it was by the expressions of good faith of the Lusaka signatories, can now be reconciled with the dire situation on the ground. Canada believes further that the Council should invite potential and actual personnel contributors to MONUC to participate in this discussion, in keeping with recently adopted practice.

We repeat, however, that, even under current circumstances, it is not too late to realize the promise of Lusaka, and we call again on the parties to stem the progression of lost opportunities and to make a genuine commitment to peace.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): Like all other members of the Council, the United Kingdom strongly supports the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), and we want to see it deployed. One way in which we can make sure that MONUC is ready is to hold an early meeting of Council members and troop contributors to review the status of MONUC deployment and the concept of operations. But, as the Secretary-General has made clear in his report (S/2000/888), the real

problem is that MONUC is unable at present to do its job. Efforts to get the right conditions in place for MONUC deployment have so far been unsuccessful. The situation cannot be allowed to drift further.

The Council is about to agree on a two-month extension of MONUC's mandate. There must be progress during that two-month period. It is for the parties to decide whether they want Lusaka. If they do, they must apply themselves fully and unreservedly to its implementation, because, if there is no forward movement, MONUC's position will be untenable. The prospects of our losing MONUC are very real. This would have devastating consequences for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for its people and for the region.

The parties have got to make a decision. They have to decide whether they want peace or whether they want to continue with a war that cannot be won.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Argentine Republic will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted for our consideration whereby the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is extended until 15 December. We believe the extension is necessary, but we also feel that MONUC's presence, at least under the current concept of operations, cannot be indefinite.

As long as reasonable guarantees of freedom of movement and security for MONUC do not exist and serious violations of the ceasefire persist, we believe the second phase of MONUC deployment is not possible. We call upon all the parties to use this two-month period to unambiguously reaffirm their commitment to MONUC and to the Lusaka Agreement.

We are convinced that there is no military solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In our view, the Lusaka Agreement represents the basis for a stable solution that respects the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and takes into consideration the legitimate security interests of all the States in the Great Lakes region. Therefore, all possible formulas and alternatives to bring about the real implementation of the Lusaka Agreement should be explored.

We have said this before, and we wish to repeat it once more today: the United Nations has a historic role and responsibility in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that cannot be circumvented, but the United Nations cannot replace the parties' political will to make peace and live in peace.

Mr. Kooijmans (Netherlands): The Netherlands will vote in favour of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) for a period of two months.

The extension of the mandate for a brief period will put the parties to the conflict on notice that for the United Nations to remain involved in the peace process on the basis of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, which, in our view, remains the most viable basis for the resolution of the conflict, we expect the parties to demonstrate their full commitment to the Lusaka process in the months ahead.

In this respect, we call in particular on the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to facilitate effectively the MONUC deployment and to commit itself fully to a meaningful dialogue with the Congolese parties. Furthermore, the Netherlands calls on the parties to start, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1304 (2000), the withdrawal of troops and to end all military offensives.

The Netherlands strongly supports the Secretary-General in his efforts to help establish peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and looks forward to his recommendations on the future of MONUC operations, including its concept of operations.

Mr. Teixeira da Silva (France) (*spoke in French*): Last February, in resolution 1291 (2000), our Council authorized the phase two deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). Nine months later the implementation of this peacekeeping operation remains blocked by the persistence of hostilities, in particular in the Equateur province, and by the parties' lack of cooperation with the United Nations. On several occasions, our Council has had to remind the parties of their obligations. Security Council resolution 1304 (2000), adopted four months ago, insisted

> "that Uganda and Rwanda, which have violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, withdraw all their forces from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo without further delay, in

conformity with the timetable of the Ceasefire Agreement and the 8 April 2000 Kampala disengagement plan". (*resolution 1304 (2000), para. 4 (a)*)

The Council also demanded that all the parties, and in particular the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, cooperate in the MONUC deployment by lifting all restrictions on the freedom of movement of its personnel and by ensuring its security. Unfortunately, the Council's demands have not been heeded by the parties.

The Security Council is deciding today to extend the MONUC mandate by two months. France, along with the Secretary-General, hopes that the parties will make good use of this extension to show that they are committed to advancing the peace process in the Congo. The message sent once again to the belligerents is clear. There are four points, which were recalled in the statement (S/PRST/2000/28) adopted by heads of States and Government at the Security Council Summit in September: first, an appeal to the parties to cease hostilities and to fulfil their obligations in accordance with the Lusaka Agreement and Council resolutions; secondly, an appeal to speed up the withdrawal of Ugandan and Rwandan forces, as well as all other foreign forces, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1304 (2000); thirdly, an appeal to all the Congolese parties, and in particular to the Government, to engage fully in the national dialogue; and finally, an appeal to all the parties to cooperate with MONUC so that its deployment will be possible.

It is now the responsibility of the belligerents to take concrete actions in response to this appeal addressed to them at the highest level by the Security Council. The United Nations is no substitute for the parties if the parties themselves do not display their willingness to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

Let us also recall that the continuation of this conflict, fed as it is by the plundering of the country's natural resources, has brought about tragic consequences for the Congolese people. The massacres of civilians, particularly in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the lack of health-care services and food mean that the conflict in the Congo today is undoubtedly the most serious humanitarian crisis in Africa. Humanitarian organizations and the Secretariat have witnessed the scope of the crisis. In two years the number of victims has reached the hundreds of thousands. It is urgent that the parties end the conflict.

Mr. Minton (United States of America): The United States also lends support to the decision by the Security Council to extend the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) for two additional months, through 15 December. However, our support for extending the Mission is tempered by our deep concern about international peacekeeping efforts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the light of the continued reluctance of the parties to implement the Lusaka Agreement.

There can be no peace in the Congo unless and until the parties to the conflict uphold their Lusaka commitments. There will be no further deployment of United Nations personnel as long as volatile confrontations between the belligerent parties continue.

Our collective efforts to restore peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are further eroded by the severe restrictions imposed on MONUC personnel already deployed in the region. As noted in the Secretary-General's report of 21 September, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has yet to implement an acceptable arrangement to permit unimpeded movement of United Nations officials. There can also be no peace as long as MONUC continues to be the target of inflammatory propaganda condoned by the Congolese Government.

The critical humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be properly addressed either — despite our collective efforts — as long as humanitarian agencies are denied safety and freedom of access to all areas, including the eastern part of the country. Emergency assistance cannot be delivered to the 1.8 million Congolese who have been displaced from their homes and to the 16 million persons who are in immediate need of food for survival. All belligerent parties in the Congo must permit full, safe access at once to all humanitarian workers in order to prevent further human suffering and tragedy.

We have just 60 days in which to renew our own efforts to encourage a recommitment by the parties to peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If efforts to block MONUC's mission continue,

and should the parties fail to demonstrate their commitment to the peace process, we will have little choice but to review closely the utility and purpose of a continued United Nations presence as defined in MONUC's current concept of operations. We therefore call on all the parties to use this short-term extension of the Mission to relaunch the peace process and demonstrate their firm commitment to renewed stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/2000/979.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1323 (2000).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.55 a.m.